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THE  
ROMAN CATHOLIC  
COLLEGE OF MAYNOOTH:

ITS IMMORAL, UNCONSTITUTIONAL,  
AND ANTI-SOCIAL TEACHING EXPOSED,

IN THE  
SPEECHES

OF  
RICHARD SPOONER, ESQ., M.P.

FOR THE NORTHERN DIVISION OF WARWICKSHIRE ;

INCLUDING MANY AUTHENTIC QUOTATIONS FROM ITS AUTHORISED  
BOOKS OF INSTRUCTION,

AND AN  
APPENDIX.

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## PREFACE.

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It having been my privilege, as a friend of Mr. Spooner, and at his request, to compile for him on each occasion of his impeachment of the College of Maynooth before the House of Commons (commencing in 1852), those passages from the Books returned as in use at that Seminary, upon which that impeachment was so well founded, and Mr. Spooner's health not permitting him to continue his efforts beyond the Session of 1860, I ventured to suggest to him, in consequence, the desirableness of collecting his Speeches into one pamphlet.

This compilation is now presented to the public, in the hope that it may furnish those, who value Scriptural and Protestant Truth, with some effective weapons for assailing the Opposite Errors.

It was not Mr. Spooner's object to enter into any of the more difficult and abstruse controversies which the Giants of the Reformation so effectually discussed with Romanists, but rather to look at those *Lessons* relating to Public and Social Morals which the authorised Books of Maynooth inculcated.

It had been with many a popular, but mistaken notion, that however extravagant or erroneous the peculiar and distinctive doctrines of Roman Catholicism might be, its *moral* teaching was sound and valuable.

To disabuse the public of this mistake was his object, thus laying down a valid and more than sufficient reason for the



discontinuance of any public support to an Institution, which he felt bound to impeach, as immoral in its teaching and fraught with danger to the Constitution, to the Laws, and to the Royal Succession of the House of Hanover, being Protestants.

It has been well understood that on the occasions when Mr. Spooner moved against Maynooth, there were present by courtesy, under the Gallery of the House (in addition to several Roman Catholic Members in the House, who were well versed in the controversy), certain well trained agents of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, who were watching for an opportunity that might occur of impugning the accuracy of Mr. Spooner's allegations.

This, however, they have never attempted. In almost every case the Books and Documents quoted, were within reach, or in the House, and ready to be produced.

One thing it is important to add—that the celebrated Commission of 1855, and its Report, and Evidence in its Appendix, were utterly destroyed by Mr. Spooner, as being of any *reliable* authority. The transmission of the Evidence, and probably the Report itself, to Rome—its falsifications and “doctorings”—were so exposed by him, that the *Times*, on no occasion friendly to Mr. Spooner, frankly acknowledged that “the sooner the Commissioners disavowed their Report, the better for their dignity.”—*The Times*, May 2nd, 1855. (See page 80.)

No better opportunity can be expected than that which Mr. Spooner with great readiness and success employed, of impeaching the Morals inculcated by the Church of Rome in the presence of some of her ablest Champions, and on the Floor of the Commons' House of Parliament.

G. S. BULL.

RECTORY OF ST. THOMAS,  
BIRMINGHAM, APRIL 22ND, 1861.

# MAYNOOTH MORALS,

ETC.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, May 11th, 1852.

**MR. SPOONER** rose to move the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the System of Education carried on at the College of Maynooth. The hon. gentleman, who was evidently suffering from indisposition, said—

Sir,—The circumstances under which I rise to address the House will, I feel confident, insure for me that large and liberal indulgence which this assembly never fails to grant to those who stand in need of it. Before I enter into the immediate consideration of the subject I have ventured to bring under the notice of this House, I beg, Sir, to assure those hon. gentlemen who profess the Roman Catholic faith, that it is my anxious wish, as it will be my earnest endeavour, to abstain from saying anything which may hurt their feelings or wound their consciences. I have no quarrel, Sir, with individuals. In the fulness of the Protestant principle I recognise, and I respect in every one, to the fullest extent, the right of private judgment. My quarrel is with the system of Instruction carried on at the College of Maynooth.

I charge that system with being injurious to Society—with having a tendency to create Immorality—and with being completely subversive of the true principles of Allegiance. To these points I propose chiefly to direct the few remarks I trust I shall be able to address to the House. But, Sir, while I propose to confine myself to these points, and abstain from otherwise arguing the question, I must, in consistency with my known opinions, as also from a sense of duty, maintain that the original grant to the College of Maynooth was in itself bad in principle, and that all the forebodings of those who at the time ventured to oppose it are fully and completely realised. I say, moreover, that I believe the system taught at that college to be antagonistic to the Word of God—that it is a National Sin, and, therefore, it is my earnest wish to see the grant repealed. Thus much I say for the satisfaction of my own conscience, and the declaration of my own convictions. I beg to say, however, that I have no intention to provoke a polemical discussion. In an assembly constituted as this House is, and representing in religion, as on all other questions, so many and such various opinions, I cannot but be sensible of the great inconvenience of engaging in polemical disquisition. I would sedulously refrain from the use of any arguments that could have such a tendency, and would confine my remarks to the policy of the measure I am about to impugn.

At the onset I know I shall be met by the plausible but exceedingly fallacious interrogatory—"Why institute an inquiry?" And those who put that question will follow it up by the assertion that we have had inquiries already—that we know everything about Maynooth that can be known—and that no purpose of practical utility can be attained by undertaking another investigation. My answer to such a line of argument as that will rest upon as high an authority as any that can be possibly cited on such a question—the authority of no less a man than *Sir R. Peel* himself, who has stated, in language the most distinct and emphatic, that inquiry into the system of education adopted at Maynooth was a duty which devolved with peculiar and inevitable urgency upon the House of

Commons. Presently I will read to the House Sir R. Peel's own words on the subject. I can assert, upon the authority of my own experience, that the "blue book" (*Eighth Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland, 1827*) containing the report of the commissioners appointed to visit the College, is very little read and very little known amongst the members of this House. I have made it a point to ask many hon. gentlemen, of all parties, in this House, whether they had read this book, or knew anything whatever of its contents, and in no single instance have I received an affirmative answer. I have asked many members, including several Roman Catholic members, whether they have ever read any of the works used as class-books or standards in the College of Maynooth, and the answer has been still in the negative. Nay, I will go further and assure the House that, a few evenings ago, when in conversation with a most respectable gentleman, a Roman Catholic member, I quoted in his presence one or two passages from the books taught at Maynooth, the Hon. Gentleman in question expressed his astonishment, and declared that "such doctrines were not the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion—that he, at least, had never heard them before—that he entirely denounced them—and that if such doctrines were indeed inculcated in that institution, it was very fitting that there should be an inquiry," or to this effect.

Not to dwell longer on these and similar observations, which I have often heard from Roman Catholic members, I will now proceed to submit to the consideration of the House the opinions expressed by *Sir Robert Peel*, with respect to the obligation which devolves on this House to institute inquiries into the system of education pursued at the College of Maynooth, as often as it may appear expedient to do so. Upon the question of inquiry, Sir R. Peel, in 1840, before the grant was increased and settled by Act of Parliament, thus expressed himself :—

"He could not agree in the opinion that the system of instruction pursued at Maynooth ought to be a matter of indifference to the House. The system of

education was a legitimate matter for the consideration of Parliament, and the House would abandon its duty if it were to avow the doctrine that, because the grant had been continued for thirty years, it was therefore pledged to say to Maynooth, 'You can inculcate what doctrine you please, however injurious to the supremacy of the law and detrimental to the established government and monarchy of the empire.' If an opinion of that kind were put forward, he, for one, would never concur in it, and he thought it should be repudiated by every member of the House. A misappropriation of the grant would form a very proper subject for inquiry, and if it were proved, the question might be submitted to the House, whether on that ground the vote ought not to be discontinued. If accusations of this sort were made, all he could say was, that the recipients of the grant were the persons who should show most interest in challenging inquiry, for the purpose of conciliating the good will of the public by showing, if such was the fact, that the charges were groundless. Under such circumstances, so far from inquiry being injurious, they should, as he said, be the first to challenge it. But, at the same time, he should say that nothing but full proof of abuse would render it wise in the House of Commons to enter into a pledge as to the future with respect to this grant. To him, however, it would be much more satisfactory to have the ground of accusation cut away, and having established that, he should be able to give the vote which he was about to give with greater satisfaction."

The view of the case thus so clearly argued, and so powerfully stated by Sir R. Peel, is the one which I am especially desirous to press upon the consideration of hon. members who profess the Roman Catholic faith. I boldly charge that the doctrines taught at the Royal College of Maynooth are such as Sir R. Peel has described; and that being such, there is a good case for instituting an inquiry. If my charge be groundless, there will be ample opportunity to prove it so; but if such doctrines as I shall presently submit to the consideration of the House are indeed inculcated at Maynooth, there can be no gainsaying the propriety of instituting an inquiry. Indeed, I have no doubt that such a proceeding will find favour with the educated laity of the Roman Catholic persuasion, both in England and Ireland; for I am persuaded that *no* educational system which is injurious to virtue, or subversive of morality, has the least chance of being received by educated Roman Catholics with other feelings than those of reprobation.

The amendment before the House, that of the hon. member for Kerry (Mr. H. Herbert), goes the length of saying that inasmuch as certain Visitors have already been appointed by her Majesty to visit the College of Maynooth once in every twelve months, and to inquire into the government, management, and discipline of the said College, there is no occasion for any further inquiry. Now, if the hon. gentleman will but look to the original Act (48 Geo. III., cap. 145) under which the College of Maynooth was founded, he will find the 3rd clause to this effect—"Provided always, and be it enacted, that the authority of the Visitors shall not extend in any way so as to affect the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion or religious doctrines, or the discipline thereof, within the said College or Seminary, other than is hereinafter provided." The same principle is reasserted in the 8th and 9th clauses. But, by the provisions of the Act passed in 1845 these restrictions go to a much greater length. I do not think it necessary to detain the House by detailing them on the present occasion; but, if you will but read the clauses of the Act to which I have referred, as well as the evidence given upon the inquiry into the system of education taught at Maynooth, I am quite sure hon. members cannot entertain such an opinion as is expressed in the amendment to which I have referred.

II.—The objection, that this grant to the College of Maynooth, having been confirmed by Act of Parliament, cannot be revoked without *a breach of faith*, is frivolous in the extreme, and will not endure one moment's examination. Nothing can be more absurd, or more alien from the spirit of the British Constitution, than to say that there does not reside in the Legislature a power to recall its own free and unfettered Act. If any *sacrifices* had been made by the Roman Catholics—if there had been any *surrender of privileges* on their part as the condition of the enjoyment of the grant—if they had been placed in a different and less advantageous position by reason of the grant, than that which they had heretofore occupied—the case would have been different, and an attempt to

repeal the Act should necessarily be accompanied by a measure to indemnify the Roman Catholics; but surely no constitutional lawyer would say that, in a case where no such compromise had been made, it was not competent for Parliament to review an Act of its own, which was found to have worked disadvantageously. Surely what was freely given may as freely be revoked. The power, and indeed the duty, of Parliament to do so has been expressed in very distinct and powerful language by the noble lord the member for London, who will be admitted to be as high an authority on matters of constitutional history and principle as any that can be found in this House. *Lord John Russell*, in the debate of April 3, 1845, has thus expressed himself:—

“I do not mean to argue, as has been done by other hon. gentlemen, the question of *compact*, or whether it would be wise or prudent, after fifty years, during which this grant has been made, to stop suddenly and to declare that you will advance no further sums from the public purse for the purpose of educating the priests of the Roman Catholic religion. But, at the same time, I will say, that if you found you were doing that which was mischievous to the community, *and that the religious scruples of the community would not allow the continuance of this grant*, or, with reference to the civil and political reasons, you found that *those you meant to be the teachers of religion had become the leaders and conductors of rebellion*; if, I say, you found, for any of these causes, that there was ground sufficient to refuse this grant, then I can see no valid reason why any compact should restrain you, or why, upon strong grounds of this kind, the House would not be justified in declaring that it would give no further allowance.”

III.—I doubt not but I shall nevertheless be still met by some such objection as this—“Oh, you are going to commit a breach of faith in withdrawing a grant that has been guaranteed by Act of Parliament. You cannot revoke what you have already guaranteed.” Well, then, I propose at once to join issue with those who make such an objection, and to contend against the principle involved in it. The speech of the noble lord (J. Russell) which I have just quoted is a sufficient answer to such an objection. It cannot be doubted that the contingency suggested by the noble lord the member for London has in fact arisen, and that the “teachers of

religion have become the leaders and conductors of rebellion." I ask, then, whether any man in his senses can for a moment deny that the priests educated at Maynooth College have, from time to time, and especially in latter times, recommended resistance to the power of the Crown, and invariably encouraged the greatest hostility to the constitution of Church and State? I ask whether they have not said—notwithstanding their former professions—that they never would rest contented while the Incubus, as they called it, of the Established Church continued? (*Loud cheers from the Roman Catholic members opposite.*) Well, that fact appears, at all events, to be admitted. Now, I will presently show that such a declaration is contrary to the *Oath* taken by Roman Catholics—that is, contrary to the Oath of Allegiance, which is taken by many others besides hon. members who are sworn at the table of this House. Every one knows that it can be proved from history that two, at least, of the rebellions that have taken place in Ireland may be dated since the period of the foundation of this College. But it might be said that when we granted this money we knew what the nature of the morals taught at Maynooth was, and to what purposes the grant would be applied, and that therefore we have no right now to find fault with the College of Maynooth for carrying out those objects. Now, in the first place, I am quite sure that the morals taught in Maynooth are anything but well known to the country at large, or to the vast majority of the members of this House. I will venture to go further, and say that the principal object of founding the College was not to teach such principles of religion. If you will look back to history, you will find that it began by a grant of permission to the Roman Catholics to educate their own body in their own country, rather than to send them abroad to be educated. We laid down this clear, plain, practical principle for our guidance: that the Roman Catholic youth when sent abroad to be educated learned un-English notions—that they learned those principles which we believe to be dangerous to the spirit of our Constitution, and which tended ultimately to



the disruption of the Monarchy in this country. The Legislature said—"Let the priests be national, let them feel that they belong to us, and do not let them imbibe those foreign feelings which a foreign education must necessarily generate." The object was to enable Roman Catholics to provide competent means of education for the Roman Catholic priesthood in their own country, so that they might become national in spirit and character, and no longer be imbued with those foreign prejudices which a foreign education inevitably engendered. But this object has not been realised, and the Roman Catholic priesthood are in spirit and feeling more estranged than ever from the Government. It is a mistake to say that the grant has become prescriptive from ancient usage. It is true that in the Act of Union there was a stipulation that certain grants for charitable purposes should be continued *for twenty years*; and though this grant was not specified, yet it was voted, for a series of years almost annually, but not altogether so. Some years no grant was made—sometimes it happened that the grant was diminished, and sometimes that it was increased; but it was not until 1845 that it assumed a more settled character.

Now I ask hon. members to look at what has taken place in this House from time to time in reference to this grant. Will any one say that the grant was not made a matter of serious dispute in this House, and of resistance on the part of a number of its members? These members, though few at first, no doubt had been gradually increasing up to the last year, when, upon the question of a small grant being given for some annual repairs to the College, I had the honour of submitting an amendment, in opposition to the proposal, which was only lost by a majority of two.\* The rejection of that vote was solicited and all but obtained, not on grounds of economy, but upon this principle, that in this Protestant country the House of Commons had no right to allocate the people's money to the maintenance of any such an institution as the College of Maynooth. The denial of the allegation that

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\* See Appendix A.

there could be any breach of good faith in withholding the grant is not the only ground on which I desire to base the present motion. What I contend for is, that in order to justify an inquiry, it is sufficient that there should be, as I maintain there is, fair grounds for believing that the doctrines taught at Maynooth are injurious to public morals, and dangerous to the welfare of the community. If the Committee I now move for be granted, I will undertake to show that nothing can be more pernicious than the doctrines which are to be found in the class-books of Maynooth. Surely it is the duty of the House to inquire into these things, and to consider how far the anticipations of those who introduced the Act in 1845 have been realised or defeated. On the 3rd of April, 1845, Sir R. Peel said of the measure he then proposed :—

“It is, I trust, conceived in the spirit to which I have referred—a liberal and confiding spirit. We have not introduced it without communication with the leading ecclesiastical authorities in the Roman Catholic Church. *It has not been a subject of stipulation or contract with them.* We have intimated to them our intention, and we have every reason to believe that they are satisfied with, and grateful for, the measure.”

If, then, there has been no stipulation or contract on the subject—as, according to Sir R. Peel, there had not—then it is clear there can be no breach of contract in withdrawing the grant. I will next ask, Have the expectations which were entertained when the grant was made been fulfilled? Have the Roman Catholics met the grant in the spirit in which it had been given? I think it would not require much argument to show that they had not. I will again quote from the speech of Sir R. Peel before referred to, in order to show in what spirit the grant was made, and the results which were expected from it. Sir R. Peel said :—

“We are prepared in a liberal and confiding spirit to improve the institution, and to elevate the character of the education which it supplies. By improvement I do not mean such an interference with the course of education as would poison all the good that one may derive from liberality. I mean that we should treat that institution in a generous spirit, in the hope that we shall be

met in a corresponding spirit, and that we shall be repaid for our liberality by infusing a *better feeling* into the institution, and by ensuring a *more liberal system* of instruction."

Has the grant, then, been "met in a generous, a corresponding spirit?" I maintain that it has not. Now what I maintain is, that the anticipations in which the late Sir R. Peel indulged on this subject have been one and all falsified; that the "priests," so far from being better affected towards the Government, because of the grant, are more alienated than ever; and that the system of education, so far from being liberal and scholarly, is narrow and bigoted.

IV.—When the College was first founded, nothing could exceed the feelings of delight and gratitude with which the College of the Propaganda at Rome affected to regard the liberality of the English Government. The letter of the Prefect of that college (conveying also the sentiments of the Pope), at the time Maynooth College was first founded, contained many enthusiastic expressions of gratitude for the munificence of the English Government. It was with feelings such as these that the Roman Propaganda affected to regard the foundation of the College in 1796, but no gratitude has ever been *practically* exhibited. The following is an extract from a letter, found at page 44 of the Report of 1827, addressed by the Cardinal Prefect of the College of the Propaganda at Rome, in 1796, to the Roman Catholic Prelates who were trustees of Maynooth when the College was first founded:—

"We experience the deepest feelings of delight and mutual congratulation at the welcome news conveyed in your letter. The great liberality and munificence of your powerful Sovereign will, to a great extent, furnish you with the means of establishing a Seminary for the education and training of your youth in the sacred duties of their religion. Our first duty under the circumstances is to render our grateful thanks to the Most High. It is also our earnest desire that you will prove by your conduct the grateful sense you entertain for so signal a benefit. The inmates of the establishment should be sedulously admonished, by every suitable means, to be *submissive to power and authority*, so that no feelings of regret can ever be experienced for having conferred upon you such a benefit: a duty which we have no doubt you will be most sedulous in your endeavours to perform."

Now that was the nature of the instruction given by the Propaganda previous to the actual foundation of the College. Upon the faith of such a spirit being created the original grant of 1795 was given. These were the expectations that were then held out. I will now show you that the teaching in the College of Maynooth has been exactly contrary to the pledge thus given by the Propaganda, inasmuch as the students are taught that no allegiance was due from them to heretical sovereigns. It is laid down in their books that every one who is baptized is subject to the Church of Rome—that there is but one Church, and that the act of baptism gives a dominion to that Church over every baptized individual; and every one who rejects that doctrine is a heretic, and is to be treated as such. This word “heretic” has, then, as the House will see, a most extensive application, and of necessity includes Our Most Gracious Sovereign herself. Thus it appears that the grants made were obtained by fraud and artifice; and on that ground alone I submit that there is good ground for the appointment of a Committee. I will now read some extracts from these books.

#### OATHS AND VOWS.

V.—The first subject upon which I will proceed to touch is that of *Oaths*. Now, in approaching this subject, I must say I do not believe that the educated Roman Catholic laity either subscribe to or believe in the doctrines here laid down. But what available answer is that, when I shall prove that they are taught in the College of Maynooth? It is, then, to inculcate these views that we still grant the sum annually of £29,000. It is to support these views that we have already raised and expended a much larger sum than any hon. member in this House conceives. An enormous sum has been given altogether by us for the teaching of these doctrines. But to return to the point of Oaths. What is the doctrine laid down on this subject? I find in Bailly (class-book at Maynooth), a Paris edition, 1826, in vol. vii., page 366, the following proposition: Bailly says—

"It is clear that oaths, being made to God alone, may be changed for a just cause, or may be relaxed by dispensation from a lawful superior; *for in this respect vows and oaths are on equal footing.*"

Bailly proves this dispensing power of the Pope and others—first, from Scripture, Matt. xviii., "Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." In the Eighth Report of the Commissioners, before quoted, Professor Anglade (p. 171) and Dr. M'Hale (p. 283) both justify this application of Matt. xviii.

"Secondly, This is proved from the universal custom of the Church. This power is expedient—nay, necessary, for the common good of the faithful; for that which was better at one time, and more useful to their safety, may afterwards become less good and less salutary."

I will suppose that this country is invaded by a foreign Roman Catholic power. Why, according to these doctrines, all who have sworn allegiance to the sovereign of a Protestant State might be released from their Allegiance if it came under this description. Do you believe that Roman Catholics thus taught, feel they owe the same allegiance as Protestants to the Sovereign? I must, however, admit that I am in the daily habit of meeting Roman Catholic gentlemen whose oath or word I would take to be as binding as those of any Protestant; but that is not the question. I am now merely asking them what they teach in this College of Maynooth. I am confident that we are as safe in the allegiance of the well-educated Roman Catholic laity of both countries as in that of Protestants or the members of any other Church; but I say that there is an immense class of Roman Catholics who are taught by those very priests who profess these doctrines. The lower classes in Ireland have no time to think for themselves, and, from the nature of their religion, they are obliged to receive whatever the priests tell them, who are imbued with those principles, to which I have referred, taught at Maynooth. Do you then wonder that the verdicts delivered in Ireland are very frequently and notoriously against evidence? Give me the inquiry I ask, and you will find that I have not in the slightest degree overcharged the picture which I have ventured to submit to your attention.

Now, there are stated in Bailly's work, in the same page, *twenty-four ways of getting out of an oath*. Surely no confidence can be placed in these oaths when we find so many ways laid down for evading them. I will not trouble the House with reading the whole of these twenty-four ways. Bailly, upon *Moral Theology*, in vol. vii., chap. 2, page 343, says—"A promissory oath obliges, under the penalty of mortal sin, to do that which is promised in the oath, *unless a legitimate cause excuses*." At page 345 there is a section with this title—"Of the causes which hinder or take away the obligation of an oath." Of these, seven are named; the third is—"The hindering of a greater good which is opposed to *that* promised in the oath" (which is susceptible of a wide ecclesiastical range). The seventh cause excusing is, the "limitation, either expressed or even tacitly and silently understood, of the *intention* of the swearer. For, in every oath, certain general conditions are, from justice and use, included; one of them is, 'if you accept, unless you remit;' another (condition) is, 'saving the right of another.'" If, then, a religion inculcating doctrines like these is growing and abounding among us, what security have we for the observation and sacredness of oaths? Now, I believe that the Roman Catholic members of this House are ignorant of the existence of such doctrines, or they would at once repudiate them. I ask you, then, will you refuse an inquiry into a system such as this, with a view of proving whether those charges are correct or not; and if they are proved to be true, of saying that these things must not and shall not be—with a view, in this, of obeying the voice of the whole kingdom, which, ere long, will be felt in this House in a manner which you will be totally unable to resist? On this ground I ask you, then, to put a stop to the system, before you are compelled to do so by a pressure from without, which it is always dangerous to provoke, and which, when provoked, can never be successfully resisted.

I come now to another Authority, and the Canon Law; and the House will recollect that when Cardinal Wiseman came to this

country he openly professed that his object was to establish that law. Now what says *Reiffenstuel*—[cries of “Who is Reiffenstuel?”]—the very question now asked shows how little hon. members know of the subject, and how necessary the inquiry for which I plead: he is a Lord Bacon of the Roman Catholics, and whose work on the Canon Law—*Jus Canonicum Universum*—is a standard book at Maynooth—what does he say on the subject of Oaths? In book ii., sec. 2, page 495, he says—

“In every promissory oath, though made absolutely, there are understood certain tacit conditions, as—1, ‘If I am able;’ 2, ‘Saving the law and authority of my SUPERIOR.’”

Observe, this is a part of the Canon Law which Dr. Wiseman is determined to establish in this country, and which is now taught at the College of Maynooth. Once let him induce Roman Catholics to believe that *this* law is binding upon them, and where, I ask, will you find any security for your persons or property, the institutions of the country, or the existence of the Monarchy itself? This high authority then goes on to say—

“It is agreed (among the doctors) that an oath is unlawful and cannot be kept which does not reserve the honour of the Apostolic See; because, truly, IF A JUST CAUSE ARISES, THE POPE CAN DISPENSE ALL VOWS AND OATHS.”

Why “the honour of the Apostolic See” is concerned in putting down all the Protestant bishops and clergy of this country; and that honour would also be concerned in putting down that spirit of civil and religious liberty which, I have no hesitation in saying, finds its most powerful support in the Protestant Reformed Church as by law established. Yet the House of Commons granted the public money to teach the ignorant and deluded victims of the Papacy that if they had sworn an oath which they might conceive to be contrary to the dignity of the Pope, such oath was not binding upon them, and that they were released from its obligation. *Reiffenstuel* proceeds—

"4. A fourth condition is, if affairs remain in the same state; that is, shall not have been essentially changed. The reason is, that the person making oath had no intention of binding himself to a thing very difficult, or even improper, such as might occur when *some remarkable change* in affairs supervened; and, therefore, his oath is to be so interpreted that it does not extend to matters unforeseen and unexpected."

Yes, circumstances might change. They who were called heretics might become weak, and then the oaths taken by Roman Catholics would cease to be binding. Any person who reads this work would find one principle pervading it throughout. It was this, "If you find you are too weak to put down heretics, let them alone; bide your time; but, if circumstances change, and you become strong, you are altogether absolved from your oath of allegiance, and you may do your best to destroy heresy and heretics." Again I warn you, then, if you allow these things to go on little by little—if you go on sanctioning these principles by granting funds for their dissemination, you will at no far distant day have a practical illustration of the trite old proverb, "Eggs first, eagles afterwards." Again, Thomas Aquinas, who, by the Eighth Report before quoted, is constituted by the College of the Propaganda to be a great final referee in all disputed questions, and who, for his extraordinary virtues, was canonized a saint by the Roman Catholic Church, in discussing "whether a prince who was apostate from the faith forfeited his dominion over his subject," said, that "as soon as a prince was excommunicated on account of his apostacy from the faith, his subjects were *ipso facto* absolved from their allegiance."—*Secundæ Secundæ*, quest. xii., art. 2.

I will now refer to the subject of

### HONESTY.

In the above Maynooth class-book, Bailly, vol. vii., chap. 7, p. 455, I find this clause:—

"*Question.* How great must be the quantity of the thing stolen in order to constitute theft a mortal sin?

"*Answer.* The quantity cannot easily be determined, since nothing has been decided on this point, either in natural, divine, or human law."



Then, referring to sundry opinions, he supposes a distinction of men into four ranks, corresponding to the aristocracy, the middle class, the working class, and beggars, and says—

“That it has generally been laid down and determined that, in order to theft being a mortal sin, when committed on persons of the first rank fifty or sixty pence are sufficient; with respect to persons of the second rank, forty are enough; with respect to persons of the third rank, twenty or ten; with respect to the fourth rank, four, or even one, if they have nothing else to live on. Hence we do not give the aforesaid rule as a thing on which you can rely with certainty, but it is good, as something to guide *confessors*, all the circumstances being (by the confessor) prudently considered.”

Now I should like to know, if any gentleman whom I have the honour to address, being a merchant or banker, and having large sums of money which pass through the hands of confidential clerks, would desire to see such a rule as this received in his warehouse or counting-house—that if you steal from a rich man to the amount of fifty pence, or any sum below that amount, you need not confess or get absolution for the offence? Yet to such a rule as that we give the sanction and encouragement of Parliament; and I say that we ought at once to get rid of it. Once more I return to Reiffenstuel, the great expounder of the Canon Law. Concerning heretics bound by the Canon Law, in book i., tit. 2, page 138, I read,

“*Question 3.* Whether heretics are bound by ecclesiastical constitutions?

“*Answer.* That although heretics all over the world do, in fact, resist pontifical constitutions, nevertheless they are bound to them by law. Lugo says it is most absurd for any one to deny this. Heretics are bound by ecclesiastical laws; the reason is, that heretics, *by baptism* and the reception of the Christian faith, are now entered into the Church and become its members, and therefore remain bound by its laws. And, truly, if heretics are not bound to ecclesiastical constitutions, the whole penal code of the Canon Law, and of other constitutions ecclesiastical which have been put forth against heretics, are void.”

According to this we are bound, every one of us, as heretics, by those ecclesiastical laws which are actually set up now by the Pope's agents in this United Kingdom, in antagonism both to the Parlia-

ment and to the Sovereign ; and yet this is the doctrine for the teaching of which we endow and maintain the College of Maynooth. Surely no one in this House is prepared to justify a doctrine so adverse to the laws of the land and the authority of the Sovereign as that. Princes are to be sworn to aid "the Church" against all heretics—Reiffenstuel, lib. v., tit. 7, page 252 :—

"They are not to permit the exercise of their religion—they are zealously to exterminate them to the uttermost of their power—they are to be sworn to do this. But if they shall be unwilling to observe their oath, let them be deprived of the honour they hold (be ineligible for other honours—be bound under excommunication), and their lands placed under an interdict of the Church."

And again :

"If, therefore, a temporal ruler, required and admonished by the Church, shall have neglected to purge his territory from heretical filth, let him be bound by the chain of excommunication, by the metropolitan and other com-provincial Bishops ; and if he shall have contemptuously refused to make satisfaction within a year, let this be signified to the Pope, that he may declare his vassals to be henceforth absolved from their allegiance to him, and give up his territory to Catholics, who, without any contradiction, shall possess it, having exterminated the heretics from it."

Hear this, ye who claim to be *par excellence* the friends and defenders of civil and religious liberty ! In book v., title 7, question 6, page 281, of Reiffenstuel, the same authority, it is asked—

"Are vassals, and servants, and others, *freed* from any private or individual obligation due to a heretic, and from keeping faith with him ? (*Et fide eidem servanda.*)

"I answer affirmatively.—All are so from the clear disposition or ordering of the law." (Referring to authorities he quotes it thus,) "They may esteem themselves freed, or released (*absolutos*) from the debt of fidelity and obedience to such a person, and of all obligation by any kind of covenant, though fortified by any sort of affirmation, where any one has clearly fallen into heresy."

"No. 311. The conclusion in this case, in which any one is bound by an oath to a party who has fallen into heresy, is (referring to authorities) that the doctors commonly conclude that the Pope, for the cause of religion, can for this fault absolve the laity from an oath of fidelity, and from every other obligation

on oath which previously attached to them towards the delinquent. And this, because in every promise it is understood, 'excepting the cause of religion,' as well as because in such an obligation and oath it is tacitly understood."

If you place priests imbued with such doctrines among an ignorant and deluded people, is it a matter of surprise that they should be induced to rebel against one whom they regard as an heretical sovereign? Reiffenstuel further says—

"No. 312. It is inferred that he who owes anything to a heretic by way of purchase, promise, exchange, pledge, deposit, loan, or any other contract, is *ipso facto* free from the obligation, and is not bound to keep his promise, bargain, or contract, or plighted faith, even though sworn to a heretic."

How can our common contracts be deemed safe, if such laws as these are suffered to be promulgated at the national expense? And to this end he decides—

"No. 309. That if the heresy is manifest, no declaratory sentence is required."

That is, no open denunciation. Such was the doctrine taught at Maynooth, and paid for by the sanction of this House! Concerning the toleration of heretics, lib. v., title 7, page 252, this Lord Bacon of the Roman Catholics says—

"It is asked if the Princes or Governments of Catholic States may receive and tolerate heretics in their territories, and (tolerate) their rites and exercises of religion?

"I answer, first, by saying that, ordinarily, neither by the common or civil law, nor yet by the canon law, are Catholic Princes to tolerate heretics in their territories, and much less permit the exercise of their rites, or religion, or, rather, their false sect; but are bound most severely to repel and expel them from all places. This conclusion is most clearly made known by the text of the canon law."

He then quotes the following as a portion of the Canon Law—

"We decree, moreover, that earls, barons, and consuls of states and of other places, at the admonition of their Bishops, shall promise, having given their

personal oath, that whensoever they shall be required by them, they shall faithfully and effectually give their aid to the Church, *bonâ fide*, according to their duty and power, against heretics and their accomplices."

In lib. v., tit. 7, sec. 10, page 301, No. 451, it is inquired, thirdly—

"In what manner Princes or other powers, and secular judges, ought and may conduct themselves in the case of heresy; especially in the case in which the process against it is intended to be taken by the inquisitors, and by the Bishop?

"I answer, first, that all Princes and secular powers not only are incompetent to take cognizance of heresy, but rather, if they are invoked (required) to assist the Bishops as well as the inquisitors, whenever any of them wish to proceed, inquire, or take process against heretics: They are bound, moreover, to execute forthwith the punishment imposed by the Ordinary or Inquisitor; or if the heretics are delivered up to them to be punished by the ordinary sentence of the law, they are even to punish with death."

He answers, secondly—

"That secular Princes must not defer to execute the sentence of Bishops and inquisitors *because those Princes have doubts as to the validity or justice of them*; and if they demand to see or examine the process, the ecclesiastical judge is to deny them."

And, thirdly, he answers to this effect—that though they may not review or interfere with the judgment of inquisitors and Bishops, they may and ought to catch the heretics for them. And for all this he quotes the Canon Law, and the bulls of Popes (Innocent VIII.) as part of it.

Concerning the immunity of the Clergy from civil jurisdiction for any crimes—theft, adultery, &c.—that they may commit, in book ii., title 1, sec. 4, p. 12, the question is asked—

"Who is the ordinary judge in criminal causes of the Clergy?

"A. First, in every crime the Clergy must be brought before the ecclesiastical judge. The layman cannot be the ordinary judge of the Clergy, notwithstanding any custom to the contrary. The reason is, because a secular judge has no jurisdiction over the Clergy, seeing they enjoy a privilege of court, and are exempt from the civil judge's jurisdiction. And, above all, should the civil judge proceed in criminal cases against the Clergyman, the clerical order would

fall into great disgrace and contempt if the secular judges, who are the inferiors of the Clergy in rank, should take cognisance of their crimes and punish them; and thus bring into judgment *their betters and superiors*. CERTAINLY, A SENTENCE PRONOUNCED UPON THOSE WHO ARE NOT SUBJECT TO THE JUDGE DOES NOT BIND."

Again, another Roman divine (Maldonatus), in commenting on the 5th chapter of Matthew, asks whether there is any other crime than adultery for which a man might put away his wife, and the answer is—"Most clearly; for it is worse to be a heretic or a parricide than an adulteress." (Page 123.)

This Maynooth commentator on the Gospels, which it may be supposed that the students read with more than ordinary attention, further writes, on Matthew xiv. 12—

"Heretics are not worthy to be buried like others, but rather with the burial of an ass."

In the very Index of this author are these references—

"Heretics are like worms or bugs—they are 'false prophets,' nor when they utter truth are they to be heard—they are like Sadducees—they are to be punished with death."

Again, on John iv. 9—

"Heretics are more worthy of punishment than the heathen are of pity."

I appeal to this House, whether it be probable or even possible that priests who are instructed to receive and propagate such laws as these, should be loyal themselves, or make those to be good and loyal subjects to a Protestant Queen who are under such guidance and instruction?

I will now proceed, though very unwillingly, to another branch of this Roman teaching for which this country has to pay, and of which it may be well said that "it confines the intellect and enslaves the soul." I will not pollute the ears of others or my own lips with the filth relating to Confession inculcated by the class-books at Maynooth, and which, in point of fact, if I had not

felt myself obliged to look through those books, I could not have believed there were men to be found who would suffer such doctrines to be taught. I will only make one remark on this, which I have taken from Bailly, vol. iv., pages 262-3.

An author, Pictavius, the theologian, is quoted, whose advice being useful and necessary to younger confessors, it is well in this place to quote, *a few things being altered*. He says—

“ Penitents are to be questioned only as to those sins which are common and usual among that class of persons, and are to be asked, not if they have committed them at all, but how often they have done so; and if they seem to doubt and hesitate, then require them to state the greatest number of times—as, Did he swear one hundred times?—for experience teaches that thus the interrogated answer more readily. As to sins against chastity, the confessor must interrogate most cautiously, especially lest the younger penitents should learn those vices of which they are as yet happily ignorant. Alas, with great grief I say it, I have known penitents when on the bed of death, who had grown old in crimes against chastity, which they had not known but from the filthy and incautious questions of the CONFESSORS, WHO MORE RIGHTLY DESERVE TO BE CALLED CONTAMINATORS THAN CONFESSORS.”

But there is something more to be said on this subject. What was the judgment of the late Sir R. Peel? Speaking on the motion of Sir Francis Burdett, on the 6th of March, 1837, he said—

“ I will own, fairly and candidly, that I entertain a distrust of the Roman Catholic religion. I object not to the Catholics on account of their faith. For them I have the highest respect. In private life I have never made any distinction between persons on account of their religion. It is a matter of perfect indifference to me whether or not a party professes the doctrine of transubstantiation; but if there is added to that doctrine a scheme of worldly policy of a marked character, I have a right to inquire into its nature, and observe its effects upon mankind. Can any man acquainted with the state of the world doubt for a moment that there is engrafted on the Catholic religion something more than a scheme for promoting mere religion—there is in view the furtherance of a means by which man may acquire authority over man? Can we know what the doctrines of absolution, of confession, of indulgences are, without a suspicion that those doctrines are entertained for the purpose of establishing the power of man over the hearts and minds of men? What is it to me what the source of power is called, if practically it operates as such?”

And now I will appeal to hon. members to say whether, if a man fully opened his bosom to another and told him all his sins, faults, and transgressions, be they great or small, I ask, is not that man who has thus confessed to another, the slave of that other in the very worst sense? Yet that is the doctrine which is taught at Maynooth—the doctrine of Confession. Look at the class-books and see if I have overstated the matter. What says Bailly on the *Seal of Confession*? In vol. iv., p. 270, of the Paris edition of 1826, occurs the following proposition—

“By natural, by divine, and ecclesiastical law, the priest who receives confession is bound to secrecy. The second part is proved, because the priest hearing confession acts as Christ’s substitute, and personates Christ.”

Then are recited the punishments of priests who impeach—ignominy, banishment, deprivation, death; civil magistrates should burn them. He asks—“Is it in no case lawful to break the seal of confession?” and answers—

“In no case without express leave of the party—not even to escape death, nor for the spiritual or temporal good of the penitent, nor to guard the Republic (the State or Nation) from however great an evil.”

These are the doctrines which are taught at Maynooth, and which you have allowed yourselves to maintain and support. I am sorry to trouble the House with so many citations, but I must go through my task, and show what is taught at Maynooth, and what the people of this country are required to support, while, at the same time, the Sovereign is required to pledge herself to maintain a Church which denounces doctrines taught at Maynooth as “*blasphemous fables!*” “The seal of confession,” it was laid down, “was in no case to be broken without the express leave of the party.” Treason might be confessed, but the confessor was bound not to reveal it.

In the year 1845, so often referred to, when the question of the increased grant was mooted, a letter was published by a well known Roman Catholic, Mr. Eneas M'Donnell, in which were given

extracts from a petition signed by the Roman Catholic Prelates in 1792, just before the foundation of the College. In 1792 the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland petitioned to this effect :

“ With regard to the constitution of the Church, we are, indeed, inviolably attached to our own : First, because we believe it to be true ; and next, because, beyond belief, we know that its principles are calculated to make us, and have made us, good men and citizens. But as we find it answers to us, individually, all the ends of religion, we solemnly and conscientiously declare, *that we are satisfied with the present condition of our ecclesiastical policy*. With satisfaction we acquiesce in the establishment of the national Church ; we neither repine at its possessions, nor envy its dignities ; we are ready, upon this point, to give every assurance that is binding upon men.”

The petition was addressed to the Irish Parliament, and showed a very different tone of mind on the part of the Roman Catholics from that now exhibited, and showed also the line of conduct to which they pledged themselves. It is for the House to see whether they have observed that pledge. In 1808, the same assurances were repeated—

“ Your Petitioners most solemnly declare, that they do not seek or wish in any way to injure or encroach upon the rights, privileges, possessions, or revenues, appertaining to the Bishops and Clergy of the Protestant Religion as by law established, or to the Churches committed to their charge, or any of them.”

I ask you to remember the cheers on the other side a short time ago, when I referred to the United Church of England and Ireland, and then to say how the spirit evinced by those cheers tallied with the tone of that petition of the Irish Prelates in 1792. What is become now of not wishing to encroach upon the privileges and possessions of the Established Church ? Have we not heard it stated in this House, that nothing would satisfy the Roman Catholics of Ireland until the revenues of the Church were taken from it, and distributed amongst the Roman Catholics ? Again, Dr. Collins, afterwards made bishop, stated that there was not the slightest disposition on the part of the Roman Catholics to disturb or dispossess the Protestant Hierarchy ; that he could make the



most solemn declaration to that effect, and could undertake to say that not a single Roman Catholic clergyman would contradict what he averred, namely, that they had no wish whatever to disturb the Protestant Establishment and the existing arrangements of Church property, and that if the Roman Catholic disabilities were removed, they would acquiesce in those existing arrangements. Such were the opinions and sentiments circulated and believed with reference to the Roman Catholics at the time that the question of the removal of their disabilities was agitated; and relying upon which, and the arguments founded upon them, although not in this House, I supported their removal in the year 1829. I thought the arguments of Mr. Canning unanswerable at the time on the question. That great statesman said—"When you keep the Roman Catholics out of Parliament because you say they are not bound by an oath, what is it keeps them out of Parliament but their being bound by an oath?" and Mr. Canning added to the effect, "and if an oath is sufficient to keep them *out* of Parliament, why do you doubt that an oath would be sufficient to direct their conduct when *in* Parliament." That argument appeared to me unanswerable at the time. But this is now fully explained—this problem is solved by the construction put upon the nature of an oath by the books already referred to, which teach that an oath is binding, only, till circumstances change, or till it becomes the interest of the superior that it should be broken. But how has the favour then bestowed been since regarded, and to what use has it been applied? In the address of the Secretary of the "Catholic Defence Association" to the "Catholic Electors of Ireland," which was lately published, the following passage occurs in reference to some observations which had been made elsewhere by the noble lord at the head of the administration:—"It is impossible for me to read the document signed by my near and dear relative without the most painful emotions. I regard him with respect, because I believe he is honest in his convictions, and I earnestly trust that he will yet be recovered to the true and sound religious principles in which he was educated." Mr. Henry Wilberforce thus writes :

"These, then, are our crimes. The Pope has taken the steps which he thought necessary for the spiritual benefit of the Catholics in England, and we and our Clergy have disobeyed a law which we could not have obeyed without denying our God and our faith.

"But observe, Lord Derby is 'disappointed;' he expected that these things would have been prevented by the fruits of the endowment of Maynooth.

"He is 'disappointed!' When he agreed to endow Maynooth he expected that in consideration of this endowment, the Supreme Head of the Catholic Church upon earth would abandon the measures which he thought necessary for the good of the Catholic Church.

"He really believed, it seems, that he could buy the holy Roman Church to abandon her own principles and duties, and that not in Ireland only, but in other countries, for the sum of £26,000. per annum to the College of St. Patrick, Maynooth.

"This is the exact price at which he valued the holy Church throughout the world.

"It is strange that with history before him, he should have dreamed that the Catholic Church could be bought at any price; stranger still, that he should suppose any man, however base, would sell it for a bribe so contemptible.

"He values the consciences of rulers and members of the whole Church throughout the world at the sum of £26,000.

"But he is as much disappointed by the fruits of the endowment in Ireland as at Rome.

"He expected the Catholic Clergy of Ireland would have obeyed the law, and they have openly refused obedience to the Ecclesiastical Titles Act.

"Who are they who have disobeyed the law? The Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland. They have treated it as they were in duty bound, simply as if it did not exist."

Was not that a declaration showing how the expectations of the majority of Parliament had been defeated? Was it not clear from that statement that the favours already conferred on them were fraudulently obtained in order to entrap us, and turn the gift bestowed against the hand that presented it? In the speech of the noble lord (J. Russell) on the Papal aggression last year, the noble lord clearly showed that the relations between the Roman Catholics and the people of this country were wholly changed—that the circumstances were changed, and that something should be done to stop that aggression. In a letter, also, which the same noble lord (J. Russell) had addressed previously to the Bishop of

Durham, the same sentiments prevailed. For that letter I heartily thanked the noble Lord in this House; but alas! it was but a letter! It would appear, too, from a letter by a Roman Catholic prelate, Dr. McHale, that the Irish members were in future, not merely to canvass their constituencies, but in the first instance to conciliate the Pope's Irish Bishops; and that letter contained the following passage—

“As our holy religion has been recently subjected to penal enactments, at once injurious and insulting, no person should be permitted to aspire to the representation of our counties or boroughs but one who will be prepared strenuously and perseveringly to vindicate our religion from such hostile as well as impolitic legislation.”

The subject is not at all exhausted, but I will not weary the patience of the House, or trespass any longer upon its attention. I have shown, I think, that by supporting this grant you are giving aid and encouragement to a religion which is subversive of morality, dangerous to the existence of the social compact, and is in direct opposition to the observance of dutiful allegiance to the Sovereign. The Papal aggression has opened the eyes of the people of this kingdom, and from one end to the other they are urging you to resist that system. They now see that the rebellion, contumacy, and disloyal conduct of Ireland are in perfect accordance and full consonance with the doctrines inculcated at Maynooth. To you, the Irish opposition members, I would say, it is your bounden duty to consent to the inquiry. If I am wrong, you are right, and a full and fair inquiry will enable you to vindicate your system from the charges I have made against it. I fear not, I hesitate not, to say that every word I have advanced is capable of proof. I challenge you to disprove it if you can. But the people of this country will not be satisfied unless a full inquiry takes place before a committee of their own House, fairly and impartially chosen. I therefore move, Sir, “That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the system of education carried on at the College of Maynooth.”

## SPEECH, ETC.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, February 22nd, 1853.

MR. SPOONER presented petitions from several places against any further Grant to Maynooth, and one from Manchester, in which the petitioners stated that they had always objected to the support given by the State to the Romish College of Maynooth.

On question that these petitions do lie on the table,

MR. LUCAS, as a point of order, asked whether such a petition as the last referred to could not be fairly objected to on the ground of the disrespectful language in which the Roman Catholics were named? The hon. gentleman, either in reading the prayer of such petition, or in describing it, had used the word "Romish" in speaking of the Roman Catholics. That was a nickname which, he submitted, should not be used by any persons when speaking of a large portion of Her Majesty's faithful subjects. He certainly objected to the use of any such name to designate the sect to which he belonged, and he should suggest that the petition, if the expression occurred in it, should not be received until amended by the alteration of the offensive epithet.

MR. SPOONER said that the word "Romish" was in the petition as he had read it.

MR. HUME would submit that the phrase was objectionable. It was not the first time he had seen it used. He had taken it on

himself to strike out such objectionable phrases from any petitions entrusted to him. He thought that the hon. member for North Warwickshire should consent to have the word struck out.

MR. SPOONER said that he took a different view of the duty of a member of Parliament to that of the hon. member for Montrose. If he saw any objectionable phrases in a petition, he should certainly refuse to present it, but he would not take it on himself to alter a word of it. He did not see that this was at all an objectionable phrase, or that it would induce the House to object to the presentation of the petition. He thought that the word merely expressed the education of the Roman Catholics at Maynooth in a short way—"Romish College." He would certainly prefer to withdraw the petition rather than to alter one word of it.

MR. HUME said that he, for one, would not give his sanction to the presentation of any petition that conveyed an insult to any religious body or sect, and would request his hon. friend to withdraw the present one.

MR. SPEAKER reminded hon. members that the rule was to receive all petitions except such as contained language either disrespectful to the House, or libelous towards any individual or any party. Although petitions might be laid on the table of that House, they were afterwards liable to the inspection of the Committee on Public Petitions, with a view of preventing libel or any offensive matter contained therein being published. If the present petition were ordered to be printed, the Committee might, by order of the House, omit those parts which were considered offensive; but under the present circumstances he did not see how the petition complained of could be rejected.

Petition ordered to lie on the table.

MR. SPOONER then rose to move the resolution of which he had given notice:—

"That this House do resolve itself into a Committee, to consider the Act 8 & 9 Vict., c. 25, being 'An Act to amend two Acts passed in Ireland for the better education of persons professing the Roman Catholic Religion, and for the

better government of the College established at Maynooth for the education of such persons, and also an Act passed in the Parliament of the United Kingdom for amending the said two Acts, commonly called the last Maynooth Act, with a view to the repeal of those Clauses of the said Act which provide Money Grants in any way to the said College."

The hon. member said that when, during the last Parliament, he thought it his duty to bring under the consideration of the then existing House of Commons the system of education carried on at Maynooth, he asked for a Select Committee to inquire into that system. He stated his reasons for so asking—namely, that he was prepared to prove that the education there carried on was injurious to society, detrimental to morality, completely subversive of due allegiance to the Sovereign, and antagonistic to the holy Word of God. He stated that such was his opinion; that he had read many of the books taught at Maynooth, and returned as such, and had examined them. He had then asked the House of Commons for a Committee of Inquiry, because he thought that very few members had taken the trouble of investigating the system of education pursued in the College; and he knew that many Roman Catholics, both inside and outside the House, knew nothing whatever of the doctrines there inculcated. He had further stated, that one Roman Catholic member of that House, who was not now a member of it, when he quoted to him some of the contents of the books used at Maynooth, said to him (Mr. Spooner), "These are not my opinions. If these are taught in the College of Maynooth, the sooner the system is abandoned the better." He (Mr. Spooner) believed also that the public were not at all aware of that system of education, nor of the consequences that followed from it, when year by year they remain content under a charge of £30,000 for the support and encouragement of such a course of education as he then described. But how was he met when he called the attention of the House of Commons to the subject? He was met by no small amount of personal abuse—he was met by imputations of sinister motives—he was charged with endeavouring to raise an electioneering cry; but

he was not met with one single denial of the truth of the statement which he had then made. There was no denial that those books from which he quoted were used in the College—there was no denial that those books contained the extracts he had made. And he said that such being admitted, that at once took away the necessity for further inquiry into the system. His charge was fully admitted—that those books were taught there, that that system of education was adopted; and with those admissions he felt that there was really no necessity for inquiry. He would say more; he then moved for an inquiry, not from any doubt respecting the necessity for that inquiry pressing on his mind, but with very considerable doubt whether he was right in limiting himself to inquiry, because he feared that, by asking merely for an inquiry into details, it would be considered that he recognised the principle, and thought it was right if the details were correct. He opposed the grant in 1845 on principle; when he was a conscientious and regular supporter of the Peel Government. He held the same opinions now. He asked the House to do their duty to the country, to do their duty to their Sovereign, and to do their duty to themselves. Each member of this House was sworn to do the best in his power to support the established institutions of the country in Church and State. [“No, no!” *from several Roman Catholic members.*] Then he would refer them to the oaths which they took on entering that House. [“Read, read!”] He would read them. Did any one deny that the Protestant oath was one to uphold the Protestant Church? The words are these which the Protestant members swore :—

“ I do swear that I will bear faithful and true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and Her will defend to the utmost of my power against all traitorous conspiracies, and all attempts whatsoever which shall be made against Her person, crown, or dignity.”

What oath had they called on the Sovereign to take? Was She not bound to maintain the Protestant constitution in Church and State? Were they, then, performing their allegiance to the Crown

if they neglected to support the Protestant constitution in Church and State? [*A laugh.*] He said they might laugh if they pleased; but if there was any meaning in the words, "I will bear faithful and true allegiance" to the Sovereign, they were sworn to defend Her in the performance of those duties which the State imposed on the Sovereign; and one of those duties—the main duty of the Sovereign—was the observance of that upon which the very title of the Crown depended—namely, to support "the Reformed Religion established by Law." Well, what was the Roman Catholic oath?—

"I do swear that I will defend to the utmost of my power the settlement of property within this realm, as established by the laws. And I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment as settled by the law within this realm. And I solemnly swear that I will never exercise any privilege to which I am or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion and Government in the United Kingdom. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever."

He asked, did not every member who took that oath solemnly swear that he would do his utmost to preserve the Protestant constitution in Church and State? He said, that if the Protestant member swore to maintain due allegiance to the Crown, he must recollect that the Crown is bound by an oath to preserve "the Protestant Reformed Religion as established by Law." How then was a Protestant to preserve his allegiance, unless he did everything in his power to support the Sovereign in the discharge of that duty which She had solemnly sworn to discharge? And, as to Roman Catholics, the oath they took expressed in clear words their duty to preserve the Protestant Establishment in the Church and State. Let them look, then, at the education taught at Maynooth; he would not go into many details, but he would boldly make this assertion, that the education carried on in the College of Maynooth did really and truly justify that conduct which they all so cordially



deprecated—that violent, unconstitutional, and, he would almost say, rebellious conduct which had taken place during the recent elections in Ireland. He said that the education taught in Maynooth justified it; and if any man was brought up and tried for these overt acts of riot and disturbance, he might turn to the books of Maynooth, and say that that House had taught him such conduct—for it paid the priest for teaching him, and he had merely obeyed them. In these books this doctrine was laid down, that everything must be sacrificed for the interests of the Roman Catholic Church—that an oath was no longer binding on the conscience than was consistent with the interests of that Church—and that no faith was to be kept with heretics, if the interest of that Church should require the obligations of faith to be disregarded. He had proved that these were the doctrines contained in the books of Maynooth; and then, he asked, whether he was using too strong expressions when he said that those who rebelled against the laws of the country were by the act of the House justified in their rebellion, owing to the system of education which they supported in the College of Maynooth? If he were told that further inquiry into the effects of the system taught at Maynooth was required, he answered: Look to Ireland—see what had been going on during the recent elections in that country—mark how the priests had conducted themselves at all the hustings, and how they had boldly carried out the principles in which they were educated, and look to the subsequent declaration of the candidates on the hustings; and he was now speaking in the presence of members who had sworn not to disturb the constitution in Church and State—did they not one and all declare that they would never be satisfied until they had equality in religion—that they would never rest satisfied while the incubus of the Protestant Church, and the property of the Church itself, existed in Ireland? He was speaking in the presence of hon. members who had sworn to maintain the constitution in Church and State, and who now declare they will not place their confidence in any Government, unless, forgetful of the oaths they had taken—

forgetful of the allegiance they owe their Sovereign, and forgetful of the high duty which they owe to Almighty God—they consent to adopt such measures as were utterly subversive of their most solemn duties both to their Church and the Crown of these realms. He had no hesitation in saying that he would be able to prove what he said. He would just lay before the House certain statements. He did not think hon. members had a knowledge of many of the facts connected with the proceedings at the hustings during the last elections in Ireland. He would begin with the election for the county of Dublin. In the *Evening Mail* of the 16th of July last, the following statement was made:—

“ In the chapel of Lusk, the priest, addressing the people at mass, called every voter that was at the time in the chapel by name to the altar, and warned them of the strictly religious character of the struggle that was going on, in the face of the whole congregation. He cautioned them against voting under any influence or any circumstance against the Catholic candidate, and said he would be by no means surprised if those who despised his advice and the interests of their Church, had their houses burned over their heads.”

He (Mr. Spooner) had made every inquiry into the accuracy of these statements, and he had not heard that they had been denied or complained of by any of the persons affected by them. Had such statements been published in this country affecting Protestant ministers, the Court of Queen’s Bench would have been full of applications for criminal informations from the clergymen denying on oath the truth of them. There was not a single denial of these statements; on the contrary, they had appeared in the journals belonging to both parties, and where they did not exactly agree in the words, still the similarity of expression and idea which ran through them must lead every candid man to the conclusion that they were true. Moreover, not one of the priests to whom they related had come forward to deny them; and therefore he was bound, and the House was bound, to believe that the statements were accurate. The first extract which he had read had reference to what took place at Lusk, in the county of Dublin. Had any

clergyman of the Church of England used such expressions, would not the whole country have raised a cry of indignation? In reference to the county of Kilkenny election, the *Kilkenny Moderator* stated that the most determined persecution of those who voted against their Church had been carried on by the Roman Catholic clergy. It then went on to remark, that on the previous Sunday a man named Patrick Ryan, who had split his vote for Butler and Greene, was going to mass, and just as he dropped his money into the box at the chapel door he was collared, marched out by the direction of the priest, and was handed over to the tender mercies of a savage mob, by whom he was beaten and pelted home with stones. In the county Meath the most galling examples of priestly intimidation had been offered. The following specimen of altar denunciation was uttered on Sunday, exhibiting the way bigotry was carried on in Ireland. Now he (Mr. Spooner) was often called a bigot, but it appeared that bigotry was carried on in Ireland in an improved fashion. It was stated in a Dublin newspaper called *Saunders's News Letter*, that the priest from the altar of one of the chapels in Meath, addressing the congregation, said to the party addressed, "In the presence of the Most High—before the living God and the crucifix, will you not vote for Lucas? You, Jerry Martin, who will you vote for now?" Again, in the King's County, *Saunders's News Letter* stated that the priests were busily engaged disturbing society, agitating the people by their endeavours to return their nominees, and uttering violent harangues, until matters had assumed an aspect that must be regarded with alarm by all who desired the peace of society. It was a crusade against law and order, and the rights of property, from one end of the country to the other. The most fearful anathemas were threatened on the heads of those who voted against their nominees. On one Sunday such violent language was used at a particular chapel, that the officer in charge of some Roman Catholic soldiers attending mass felt it his duty to order the men to retire from the chapel. Again, in the King's County, it was stated that, at the instigation of the Roman

Catholic clergy, those who voted for the candidate opposed to their own nominee were hooted at and driven from their place of worship, and the priests publicly made it known that they would withhold the rites of their Church from those who voted for Captain Bernard. In the Queen's County the same thing took place. The Rev. James Maher, at the Carlow election, said the view into the other world of those electors who voted for Browne was one far from consolatory. But he advised the people to let them go and vote for him, and be damned! Nor was this an exceptional example in that country of the lengths to which men in the position of the Rev. Mr. Maher went on that occasion. More than one clergyman of the Roman Catholic Church in the Queen's County threatened the refusal of the rites of the Church to such of their flocks as voted against their wishes. One of them designated a Mr. — a "black sheep," and then said, "I don't mean to call down the judgment of God upon him; but if he should fall from his horse and break his neck, or if his house or haggard should accidentally take fire, I should not at all wonder." Here was an expression for a priest to use in respect to a man who had merely exercised his franchise. He (Mr. Spooner) would next refer to the *Waterford Mail*. This paper, quoting from the *Carlow Sentinel*, gave the exhortation of a priest in that county from the altar, at the period in question. [It was to the effect that every man who did not side with the Church by voting for the popular candidate should be a marked man, and that he should be shunned by all as a person infected—that the people should compel their friends and neighbours to vote, if they even dragged them out of their houses—for that the election was a battle between God and the Devil, and that if they did not win, the nunneries would be broken into, the saints of God ill-treated, and their chapels broken down.] But this was not all. The *Carlow Sentinel* made a public statement of the persecution to which persons, differing in political opinion from the priests, were exposed. [This statement was, in substance, that two most respectable Roman Catholic policemen, named O'Dea and Mare, who had

gone to the chapel at Donegal to hear mass, were received by the crowd with hooting and groaning—that they were prevented from entering the chapel—that they were violently assaulted, and that one of them (O'Dea) was severely injured by a blow of a stone on the head. This arose solely from the activity of those constables in preserving the peace at the election, and protecting the voters who were assailed. The same day, at another chapel, a tenant of Colonel Bruen was assaulted with stones, and had to be escorted to the barracks by the police for safety.] The Galway correspondence of the *Western Star* furnished a still further proof of the prevalence of the system of persecution on the part of the priests against the voters who supported the candidates to whom they were opposed. [This correspondence, which was also read at length by the hon. gentleman, was to the effect that the Right Rev. Dr. M'Hale had declared that no Roman Catholic could vote for Lord Derby's Government except under these circumstances, namely: except he wished Mr. Lacy to empower some fashionable Adonis to invade the sanctity and seclusion of the nunneries—except he wished to have the chapels of their religion wrecked—except he wished to see their priests in prison—except he wished to see the God of heaven, under the form of bread and wine, exposed to blasphemous and sacrilegious outrage, as happened on a late occasion—except he wished to see every procession permitted save that of *Corpus Christi*, in which the God of heaven was adored—except he wished the God of heaven should hide his face—except he wished not to see their houses of worship preserved to the people—except he wished to see the bishops and priests undergo heavy penalties for violating an unrighteous law—unless they wished these things, Roman Catholics could not support Lord Derby's Government.] On these extracts he (Mr. Spooner) grounded his argument against Maynooth; and he maintained that they afforded in themselves plain and unanswerable proofs that the endowment of that establishment had not answered in any respect whatsoever the purposes for which it was intended.

The country and Parliament were then told how desirable it was that the priests, who were entrusted with the teaching of so many millions of their fellow-subjects, should be educated at home in habits of loyalty to the Crown, and of intercourse with their Protestant fellow-subjects, and how advantageous it would be to the State that they should not receive a foreign education, which would necessarily alienate them from their allegiance, but a domestic education, which would make them loyal subjects and good citizens, and that when that was the case they would no longer be exposed to that system of bigotry which had been so long complained of by almost every Government that had attempted to rule Ireland. He asked, was that part of the case carried out in this instance? On the contrary, he argued, that as far as any expectation of good from Maynooth, of that nature, was in question, that expectation was a decided failure. He did not mean to quarrel with the views of those who had established Maynooth; he believed they were sincere; but he also believed that they had acted in ignorance. At all events, what he insisted on was, that they had been most grievously disappointed in their views. If this was the fact—and he defied any other inference—then he submitted that a clear case was made out as against Maynooth; and therefore, that Parliament was bound to withdraw from that establishment the support and countenance it had hitherto received from the country. But it was urged by some there was a compact, and that this compact should not be broken. Was that the fact? Did any such compact exist between the Government of the day and the College of Maynooth on its first foundation? Let them look back to the history of that college. When Maynooth was first mooted, it was on a most respectful and most humble representation of the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland to the Irish Government. They did not ask for money—they spoke not a word of endowment; all they desired was that they should be allowed by law to educate the children of their own faith, intended for the priesthood, at their own expense, in their own country, at their own college. The request seemed very plausible

and reasonable ; it was made with promises large, liberal, and abundant ; and if it had stopped there no one would have a right to find fault with compliance. There was, however, it would be seen, no endowment then ; therefore, no compact. But this would be perceived quite clearly from the Right Rev. Dr. Troy's memorial, presented to the Earl of Westmoreland, then Viceroy of Ireland, on the 17th of January, 1794, four years before the rebellion. That document ran thus :—

“MEMORIAL OF ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES, IRELAND, TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND, JANUARY, 1794.

“ Under the laws which formerly existed, your memorialists were obliged to resort to foreign countries for education, particularly to the kingdom of France, where they had secured many valuable establishments. Four hundred persons were constantly maintained and educated therein for the Ministry of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland.

“ In the anarchy which at present afflicts that kingdom, these establishments have been necessarily destroyed.

“ Your memorialists, therefore, are apprehensive that it may be found difficult to supply the Ministry of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland with proper clergymen, unless Seminaries, &c., be instituted for educating the youth destined to receive holy orders according to the discipline of their own Church, and under ecclesiastical superiors of their own communion.

“ And they beg leave further to represent (with all due respect and deference to your Excellency's wisdom), that the said institution would prove of advantage to the nation at large, and be a matter of great indulgence to Her Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion.”

There was no compact here—no title to a claim of any kind upon the forbearance of Parliament ; it was asked as a matter of indulgence, and was granted as such ; and yet it was now urged that inasmuch as a compact existed, it was not competent for Parliament to interfere in the matter with any semblance of justice. The memorial then went on to say, that though the mode of education in the University of Dublin might be good in itself, it was inapplicable to the instruction of ecclesiastics intended for the Roman Catholic Church in the ritual of their religion ; and it finished by stating that being advised that His Majesty's consent was necessary to the

establishment of such seminary, they prayed, therefore, his Excellency to grant the Royal license for it, under due ecclesiastical superintendence. It appeared that Mr. Pitt and the Government of the day received this application favourably, and were induced to grant the prayer of the memorial, which act of grace was received with the most grateful acknowledgments on the part of the memorialists, and reiterated promises of obedience, duty, perfect content, and, above all, of non-interference with the Church as by law established in Ireland. But things were altered now: he was speaking in the presence of hon. members in that House who were pledged not to support any Government until equality in religion was established; and among these was the hon. member on the left (Mr. Lucas). He (Mr. Spooner) would next come to the Report of the Commission of 1826 and 1827, appointed to inquire into Maynooth; and, with the permission of the House, he would read a passage or two from that document (pp. 44, 46). The Irish Roman Catholic Prelates, the founders of Maynooth, having informed the Court of Rome that the British Government had given a license to found that college, the following reply was sent from the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda at Rome, July, 1794:—

“As the affection of the Sacred Congregation towards the ancient Church of Ireland was always firm and constant, so that whatever afflictions befell it our sympathy was great—drawn from our very heart—so now, in more happy times, as the partners of your joys, the Sacred Congregation rejoices not less for itself than for you, congratulating you upon the good news which was lately signified to us by your letters, namely, upon the excellent and munificent liberality of your most potent and gracious King and his august Senate, in granting you the license and faculty for erecting and instituting a suitable seminary, in order to prepare young men for the Ministry.

“Concerning this happy and prosperous event, whilst we are bound in the first instance to render thanks to the great and good Dispenser of all benefits, yet, at the same time, it may be most anxiously expected of you (and which we doubt not you will be sedulous to perform) that in the acceptance of this so great a benefit, you will prove yourselves worthy of the favour of all that dutifulness of the mind which is suitable to the occasion.

“For whilst it would be wrong to be wanting in this duty, even towards those who have afflicted us, how much more is it due from us towards those by



whose goodness we are thus relieved, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all piety. Taking good heed that the youth learn to be sober, prudent, chaste, modest—not covetous, not given to wine, not disposed to wrangle and quarrel, (*non litigiosi*)—giving no offence to any one—preserving the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

“And also you shall often and earnestly admonish them to be subject to princes and the higher powers, that their rulers may never repent of having conferred on Catholics such costly favours, but on the contrary, may from time to time applaud themselves for having bestowed such benefits upon Catholics.

“And so much the more it becomes them that they have implanted in them that homage of inviolable fidelity towards the higher powers, so congenial to the Catholic profession, and which is divinely prescribed by apostolic demand, and which ye well know has been so sacredly and anxiously commended to his children in every part of the world by the Sacred College.”

The parties thus addressed (the trustees), being the Roman Catholic prelates, replied—

“It shall be in our heart, by every suitable indication of the mind, to prove ourselves worthy of the distinguished favours received from the munificence and liberality of our Most Serene King and his august Senate, and also for so prosperous an event to render immortal thanks to the great and good Author of all benefits.”

But while promising these things, and while professing to instil those principles into the minds of the pupils, and to hold inviolate the Established Church—while they were expressing their gratification and pleasure at what had been done—would the House believe, that in the very same document the College of the Propaganda called on the prelates of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, the founders of Maynooth, to teach, above all other doctrines, in that seminary, the doctrines of St. Thomas Aquinas! It only showed how careless men in power were at the period, or how little they suspected those with whom they had to deal in this matter; for he (Mr. Spooner) could not for a moment doubt that a knowledge on their parts, however slight, of what these doctrines were, would have placed them on their guard, and interfered with the foundation of Maynooth—at least, to the extent of preventing these doctrines being taught in that establishment. What said

that most learned and most celebrated of the Roman Catholic casuists—that “Angelical Doctor,” whose works were of such high authority on points of faith and doctrine in the Roman Catholic Church? In the words of Thomas Aquinas (*Secundæ Secundæ*, quest. xii., art. 2), the discussion is raised—

“Whether a Sovereign, on account of apostacy from the faith, loses dominion over his subjects, so that they are not bound to obey him?”

(Strictly a case for the Roman Catholic subjects of the Queen.) To this he replies by citing negative reasons, which he supposes to be advanced; as, first, that Julian the Apostate had Christian soldiers in his army; secondly, that Joseph, Daniel, and Nehemiah served heathen princes; thirdly, that all sins, as well as apostacy, are departures from God, and no ruler is free from sin; and then he adds:—

“But opposed to all these (negations of the proposition) is that which Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) says:—

“‘We, holding the statutes of our sacred predecessors, absolve, by apostolical authority, those subjects (Civil) who are bound to excommunicated persons by fealty or by the sacrament of an oath. We absolve them from the sacrament of their oath, and by all means we prohibit them to observe faith towards them till they (the apostate sovereigns) make satisfaction.’”

And Thomas Aquinas continues:—

“But apostates from the faith are excommunicated, as also heretics, as the decretal says elsewhere concerning heretics (*ad abolendam*, &c.). Therefore, obedience is not to be rendered to sovereigns who are apostate from the faith.”

Having thus suffered the disputants to argue *pro* and *con*, he delivers his own decision as moderator of the discussion:—

“I answer by saying that, as is above stated, infidelity of itself is not repugnant to dominion, and that because dominion is established by the laws of nations, which laws are human laws. But according to the divine law, there is this distinction between fidelity and infidelity, which does not take away or abolish human law. But yet any sovereign sinning by reason of infidelity may, sentimentally, lose the right of dominion, as well as on account of any other fault. To the Church, however, it does not appertain to punish infidelity in those who

never received the faith according to what the Apostle says, 'What have I to do to judge them who are without?' (outside). But the infidelity of those who have received the faith (which is done by baptism itself) may be sententially (or after sentence pronounced) punished, and most properly may such sovereigns be thus punished."

He (Mr. Spooner) next came to the Papal bull called *In Cœna Domini*, on account of its being issued by the reigning Pontiff on the festival of the Church to commemorate the Lord's Supper, and sometimes called the Bull *Pastoralis*, from the first word of the document, which is considered to be in perpetual and peculiar force, being promulgated yearly, on Thursday in Passion week, at Rome, with great solemnity, and it may be also in Ireland and in England. It annually absolves Her Majesty's subjects from their allegiance. That this bull is deemed to be universally binding and in force is strongly urged by Reiffenstuel, a great standard of Maynooth on Canon Law, who states (p. 554, lib. v., tit. xxxix., sec. iv., No. 130) that the Excommunications of this Bull have a special importance—that any absolution from them is reserved to the Pope himself, both as to the regulars and all others—and that no one else can absolve from the anathema and universal sentence, save *in articulo mortis*; and he twice states that no plea in any country, as to its *not having been received*, can at all avail, and he severely censures all who have delayed to put it in force; so that the pleas of Dr. Slevin and others, before the Commissioners of 1826-7, that it was "not received," "not published," "not in force," &c., and Dr. Doyle's statement, on his oath, before the Lords' Committee—"We have never received it, and surely never will," was in direct contradiction to their highest compiler and expounder of the Canon Law. In another place he calls it *justissima et sanctissima*. This bull excommunicates every Protestant in the world—anathematizes him and all his friends and helpers—their state, grade, condition—their universities, colleges, books, and their printers, and more especially those who place themselves in hostility to the Cardinals and the Prelates of the Church of Rome. But it has been proved before

the Universities, by the Rev. R. Magee, that this bull is received. Next, a canon of Pope Urban II. (Canon 23) says :—" We do not consider those as homicides who, burning with zeal for the Catholic Church against excommunicated persons, happen to have killed any of them." This should bring to the recollection of the House the declaration of Dr. Wiseman when he came into this country, that his main object was the re-establishment of the Canon Law. But who are these excommunicated persons ? Who are those heretics ? The Roman Catholic Church, as was shown in the evidence of the Maynooth professor, Dr. Slevin (p. 219), claimed all persons whomsoever, if once baptized as Christians, in whatever denomination of Christianity they might be baptized, as members of the Catholic—that is, the Roman Catholic—Church, and all such persons who, having been so baptized, thereafter did not continue of the Roman Catholic Church, were, by the Roman Catholics, regarded as heretics. Her Most Gracious Majesty came, of course, within this category; and, accordingly, from allegiance to Her Majesty, as being so a heretic and excommunicate, all Her Majesty's subjects were annually absolved by this bull *In Cœna*. Even but for this reason alone he (Mr. Spooner) contended that the College of Maynooth, inculcating those doctrines, having these works as their classics, ought no longer to be permitted. It was a sufficiently great and crying sin with us that it had so long already been suffered to continue. Many persons were hardly aware of the law of the Roman Catholic Church as regarded heretics. The " most learned and most pious " Thomas, further, in his *Secundæ Secundæ*, quest. xi., art. 3, discusses, in the usual method of the schools, the question, " Are heretics to be tolerated ? " On this he says very coolly—

" About heretics two things are to be considered ; one on their part, and one on the part of the Church. On their parts is the sin (heresy), by which they not only deserve to be separated from the Church by excommunication, but also to be excluded from the world by death."

Let the House bear in mind what the Maynooth professor of ethics, Dr. M'Nally, who was examined by the Commissioners of 1826-27,

says (page 144, Appendix of the Report)—“ In explaining parts of the course of my lectures I have occasion to direct the student’s attention to a variety of books, principally the following : St. Thomas Aquinas, of whose *Secunda Secunda* I have often spoken in terms of the highest commendation, being in my opinion one of the best treatises on ethics.” Thomas Aquinas proceeds :—

“ On the part of the Church there is pity for the conversion of such as are in error, and therefore she does not immediately condemn. But at last, if he is found pertinacious, the Church, no longer having hope of his conversion, provides for the safety of others in cutting him off by a sentence of excommunication, and finally relinquishes him to the secular magistrate to be exterminated from this world by death.”

He (Mr. Spooner) next came to another shining light and super-eminent authority among the Roman Catholics, Cardinal Bellarmine. His work, *De Verbo Dei*, is a standard at Maynooth ; his other works, though not on the list, may be supposed as approved. He is no worse than Aquinas on this point of heretics. Bellarmine discusses in his work about the laity this proposition—“ That heretics can be condemned by the Church to temporal punishments, and even can be punished with death.” This he attempts to prove, first, by Scripture ; second, by the laws of Emperors ; third, by the laws of the Church ; fourth, by testimony of the Fathers ; fifth, by reason. Leaving at present the other proofs, we will select that “ by reason.” On this he says :—

“ First, heretics may be justly excommunicated, as all acknowledge ; and therefore, may be put to death. The consequent is proved, because excommunication is a much greater punishment than death. Secondly, experience teaches us there is no other remedy, for the Church has advanced by degrees, and has tried every remedy. If you threaten them with pecuniary fines, they neither fear God nor regard man, well knowing that fools will not be wanting to believe them, by whom they will be supported. If you throw them into prison or send them into exile, they corrupt their neighbours by their language, and those who are at a distance, by their books ; therefore, the only remedy is to send them speedily to their proper place.

“ Fifthly. There are three causes which teach us that such men should be put to death.

"The first is, that the bad may not injure the good. . . . The third is, because it is often useful to the condemned themselves to be put to death [how considerate!], since, indeed, they always become worse, and it is not possible they will ever return to a sound mind.

"Now, all these reasons," concludes the Cardinal, "convince us that heretics are to be put to death; for, first, they injure those they come in contact with; in the next place, their punishment benefits a good number . . . —and we daily see this effect in those places where the Inquisition flourishes; finally, it is an act of kindness to obstinate heretics, for the longer they live, the more errors they invent, the more men they pervert, and the greater damnation they acquire to themselves."

Referring to one plea suggested by the parable of the tares, "Let both grow together till harvest," he proceeds:—

"When, therefore, the Lord prohibits us to extirpate all the bad, he does not prohibit that this or that man should be slain; for that could not be done without great loss to the good. If, indeed, it can be done, they ought, indeed, undoubtedly, to be extirpated; but if they cannot, either because they are not sufficiently known, or that the innocent should suffer for the guilty, or if they are stronger than we are, and there is danger if we attack them in war that more of us would fall than of them, *then we are to keep quiet.*"

Such was the spirit and morality of the class-books of that college, for which England—for which the British Empire—paid. Earnestly, however, did he trust, fervently did he pray, that the Legislature would no longer continue in this course. He had no hesitation in saying that such teaching as this was altogether destructive of sound morality, destructive of the principles of allegiance to the Throne, destructive of all true religion, and that it was a great national sin and desertion of that Protestant character, the benefits of which we had been permitted to enjoy for so many years when the rest of the world was convulsed with anarchy, to be a party to its encouragement. They might rest assured that as soon as Great Britain abandoned her faith, that moment she abandoned the highest privilege she possessed, and gave up all ground for expecting the continuance of the Divine blessing. He knew he should be termed bigot and enthusiast; but he could not help that. He should not thereby be deterred from performing what he conceived to be his

duty to his God and his country. England owed much to her having been permitted to maintain her Protestant character; on the maintenance of that character depended the continuance of her right to hope in the blessings and providence of God, and he solemnly and religiously believed that it would be the greatest misfortune that could possibly befall her, when as a nation she ceased to enjoy those privileges.

But he might be told that the works from which he had read extracts were old school-books, which were not in use in the present day—that they were not the ordinary practice books of Maynooth; and Archbishop Cullen, who had done him the honour to notice him, said they were beyond his (Mr. Spooner's) depth—that Protestants must not imagine they understood the real meaning of these things, or that their reading of them was that of the Roman Catholics; and he had endeavoured to show that the plain English meaning was not their true meaning. It was not, however, the school-books alone that taught these doctrines; for he held in his hand a Roman Catholic review, called the *Rambler*, as great an authority with hon. gentlemen on his left (the Roman Catholic members) as either the *Quarterly Review* to Conservatives, or the *Edinburgh Review* to Whigs. What said the author of this work? Let hon. gentlemen who had hitherto acted upon the principles of conciliation attend to it:

“It is difficult to say in which of the two popular expressions—‘the rights of civil liberty,’ or ‘the rights of religious liberty,’—is embodied the greatest amount of nonsense and falsehood.

“How could Lord John Russell with any decency persecute the Catholics, unless he protested that he did it in this sacred name? [Liberty of Conscience.] And how could he, and the rest of the wealthy men who sit on the Treasury and Opposition benches, continue to make laws for the special benefit of the rich and titled, except by solemnly asserting that it was all done for the furtherance of ‘the blessings of civil liberty, which are the inalienable birthright of every Briton?’

“Let this pass, then, in the case of Protestants and politicians. But how can it be justified in the case of Catholics, who are the children of a Church which has ever avowed the deepest hostility to the principle of ‘religious liberty,’ and which never has given the shadow of a sanction to the theory, that ‘civil liberty,’

as such, is necessarily a blessing at all? How intolerable is it to see this miserable device for deceiving the Protestant world still so widely popular amongst us! We say, 'for deceiving the Protestant world,' though we are far enough from implying that there is not many a Catholic who really imagines himself to be a votary of 'religious liberty,' and is confident that if the tables were turned, and the Catholics were uppermost in the land, he would in all circumstances grant others the same unlimited toleration he now demands for himself. Still, let our Catholic tolerationist be ever so sincere, he is only sincere because he does not take the trouble to look very closely into his own convictions. His great object is to silence Protestants, or to persuade them to let him alone; and as he certainly feels no personal malice against them, and laughs at their creed quite as cordially as he hates it, he persuades himself that he is telling the exact truth when he professes to be an advocate of religious liberty, and declares that 'no man ought to be coerced on account of his conscientious convictions.' The practical result is, that now and then, but very seldom, Protestants are blinded, and are ready to clasp their unexpected ally in a fraternal embrace.

"They are deceived, we repeat, nevertheless. Believe us not, Protestants of England and Ireland, for an instant, when you see us pouring forth our liberalisms. When you hear a Catholic orator at some public assemblage declaring solemnly that 'this is the most humiliating day in his life, when he is called upon to defend once more the glorious principles of religious freedom'—(especially if he says anything about the Emancipation Act and the 'toleration' it conceded to Catholics)—be not too simple in your credulity. These are brave words, but they mean nothing; no, nothing more than the promises of a Parliamentary candidate to his constituents on the hustings. He is not talking Catholicism, but nonsense and Protestantism; and he will no more act on these notions in different circumstances than you now act on them yourselves in your treatment of him. You ask, if he were lord in the land, and you were in a minority, if not in numbers yet in power, what would he do to you? That, we say, would entirely depend upon circumstances. If it would benefit the cause of Catholicism, he would tolerate you; if expedient, he would imprison you, banish you, fine you; possibly, he might even *hang you*. But be assured of one thing: he would never tolerate you for the sake of the 'glorious principles of civil and religious liberty.' If he tolerated you—and most likely, as a matter of fact, he would tolerate you—it would be solely out of regard to the interests of the Catholic Church, which he would think to be best served by letting you alone."

Here, then, was what he found in this Roman Catholic magazine, and he hesitated not to say, that it answered well to the character of the hon. member (Mr. Lucas) who vindicated the conduct of the Grand Duke of Tuscany on a former evening, and arraigned the Protestants of England for having lifted their voice in the cause of



religious liberty. At the present moment, in Tuscany, the Medici had practical experience of these doctrines; and he (Mr. Spooner) charged Her Majesty's Government, responsible as they were to their country, the Crown, and, above all, to that Great Being to whom all men were responsible, not to trifle with this important matter, but to arrest their steps in that dangerous course which they had too long been pursuing. The interests of the country, of the Church, and of sound religion, all depended on the policy they adopted in the present juncture. He implored them, therefore, to think of the tremendous responsibility that devolved upon them; to take the warnings of history, no longer submit to be deluded, and to throw a glance back at the deception which had been going on for the last thirty years. Let them remember that Maynooth was founded upon professions of peace, that it soon after became a claimant for money, and that in an evil day and hour that lamented statesman, Sir Robert Peel, yielded the principle to which he had long adhered, gave up the outward bulwark of the Constitution which he had previously felt it his duty to defend, commended to the protection of this nation the idolatrous system of the Catholic religion, and abandoned all the principles for which our ancestors had bled, in the vain hope that he was dealing with men who would be grateful for the benefits conferred upon them. Sir Robert Peel had yielded, in fact, that which he (Mr. Spooner) then asked the Government to take back. He would warn them that if they continued the present system, they would do it at their peril; and they might rely upon it that one day they would be called upon to give an account of their conduct, not only to their country, but also before the bar of the Eternal Judge. The writer of the article in the *Rambler* had plainly stated that if Protestants were tolerated by Roman Catholics, it would be solely out of regard to the interests of the Catholic Church, which they would deem to be best served by such toleration. That was the principle upon which their toleration was founded—the good of the Church—and it guided them in all their proceedings. Where the dignity, the honour, and the interests

of the Church were concerned, everybody and everything was required to be sacrificed by the Roman Catholic. This was no trifling or unimportant matter. It was one upon which the country deeply felt. The measure of 1845 was carried against the plainest, most forcible, and undoubted expression of opinion on the part of the nation, which had felt sore upon the subject ever since. It had rankled in the bosom of the public to this day; and he could tell them now, however much they might think that public feeling was asleep, that it still existed in the breasts of millions of their fellow-subjects, and that sooner or later it would burst out. The right hon. baronet the First Lord of the Admiralty (Sir James Graham) would pardon him if he called to his recollection the reasons which had induced him to support the Bill of 1845, and the large hopes he then expressed of the happy results of that measure. On the 21st of May, 1845, the right hon. gentleman said—

“But, more than this, notwithstanding their sacred education and their devotion to sacred subjects, these priests, after all, are men; they partake of the passions and feelings of men. If you treat them unkindly they will resent injury, oppression, and wrong. If you treat them kindly, it is not because they are pious and devout that I can believe that they will be ungrateful; and it is my strong persuasion that if by the liberality of this grant you alter the recollections of Maynooth—if, instead of the priests looking back to the period spent there as to a time of privation, while they were told that the State was making a provision for them, they shall look back to it as to a time of comparative comfort, due to the liberality of the Imperial Parliament—my firm conviction is, that the priests will leave Maynooth with very different feelings towards the Legislature of this country; and whereas on many occasions they are now described as being political enemies, we may then hope in many cases to find them attached political friends.”—[*Hansard*, lxxx. 708.]

Had that been the case? Had not Ireland, ever since the year 1845, been day by day getting more and more difficult to manage—had it not been the burden and difficulty of every successive Government? Had they found the priests engaged in soothing the passions of the people—in teaching them obedience to the laws—and in impressing upon them the duty of preserving peace

and order? On the contrary, it was a fact that the Roman Catholic priests had been frequently the main instigators to the mischief committed by the people; and when we remonstrated with the latter, uneducated men as they were, and seeing what was the nature of the language constantly emanating from the Roman Catholic pulpits in Ireland, could we wonder at it if the people turned round and said, "Why, you sent the priests here to teach us these doctrines; you have no business, therefore, to find fault with us." They were, in fact, *justified rebels*—justified by the conduct of the Government. And as to *confession*: in March, 1825, Dr. Doyle, the late Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare, giving evidence upon the seal of confession, stated, in answer to questions put to him, that a priest could not take any measures to prevent the execution of a crime the intention to commit which was divulged to him in confession. Being asked, "When crimes, such as murder or treason, are revealed in confession, is the confessor bound to disclose it?" the reply of Dr. Doyle was, that he was bound not to disclose it, if it had been communicated to him under the seal of confession; that a confessor could not reveal a crime which he knew was about to be committed; that he could not warn the object of the crime that he was about to be attacked; that after the crime was committed he could not divulge the name of the murderer, because all communications made to him in confession were inviolate. Could any social government continue if this doctrine were general throughout the country? Let them look to Ireland, where there were murders daily occurring which we could not prevent, and to the verdicts of juries who would not convict. He did not blame the unfortunate jurors, who were taught that oaths might be dispensed with, and that they were bound to speak the truth so far only as was consistent with the advantage of "the Church;" for they had learnt from men whom we paid to teach them, and upon us rested all the blame, disgrace, and responsibility. A Roman Catholic priest was once asked to sign some address, and he *promised* to comply. But afterwards, being assured by some

brother priest that it would be for the good of the Church not to do so, he broke his promise. His defence was that he had not given a "solemn" promise, but a "serious" one; and in his justification he quoted the authority of St. Thomas Aquinas, who held that a man was not guilty of an untruth in such a case, because when he promised he intended to perform his promise; nor was he unfaithful to that promise, because the circumstances were changed—that which was binding in some cases was no longer binding in others. Well, suppose the possibility of the Pope of Rome sending a force for the invasion of this country: the "circumstances are changed," and, according to the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas, the oath of allegiance itself might be dispensed with—all obligation to observe it would have ceased to exist, and men would no longer be bound by that which they had solemnly promised to observe. Again he entreated them to look back to the whole history of this grant. It was first granted to the Roman Catholics when they were weak and poor. They were then suppliants at the door of Parliament. They pleaded only for "toleration;" and they told a plaintive story about their desire to educate their priests. After that, grants were made—but no endowment. There was nothing like an endowment until the year 1845, and not even an annual grant. Sometimes the grant was suspended, sometimes diminished, and sometimes increased; but there was nothing like what would lead them to suppose they were acting under a "compact." It was an annual concession, made most injudiciously; but no such reason as that was alleged for it by the Roman Catholics. If there were a compact there must have been two parties to it, and when one gave the other must have yielded something in return. But what did the Roman Catholics yield? The fact was that the concession was made upon promises which had been broken, and upon expectations that had not, and never would be, realised. Away then, I say, with all idea about a "compact." There was none whatever in the case. If, however, the House would permit him to go into Committee, he would admit

the existence of a compact so far as any case of personal grievance was concerned ; such, for instance, as a professor at Maynooth who had resigned an income for the purpose of taking a professorship there, or other party who had a life interest ; but nothing more. When the money was first granted, the Roman Catholics were poor, and it was represented that parents had not the means of providing for the education of their children. But could such a plea as that be put forward now ? Where was the money found for building the Roman Catholic chapels which were springing up in various parts of the country ? And then, as to the Queen's Colleges, were not those institutions positively laughed at by the Roman Catholics ? Was that an indication of poverty ? Wherever one went, in all the suburbs of our towns, in all our rural retreats, our picturesque lanes, in every direction, Roman Catholic convents or cathedrals were springing up. At this moment England was full of Romanist agents—full of men who were undermining the institutions of the country in the most Jesuitical manner possible. Acting upon the directions of Father Ignatius (late the Rev. Mr. Spencer), they were invading our very homes, and thrusting themselves into Protestant families—deeming no occupation too humble so that they might be considered true and faithful members of the Church by forwarding the interests of their blighting religion. He knew he should be told that in this House they had no business with such discussions. He confessed he hated them as much as any man ; and it was with great reluctance he felt constrained to introduce them. He did not hesitate to say, however, that by supporting Popery we were supporting idolatry—supporting those who deprived the people of the Word of God, and in its stead presenting the miserable delusion of the Romish Church, whose priests pretended to absolve from sins, administered extreme unction, and under the promise of diminishing the pains of purgatory got possession of the effects of men on their death-beds, and all this under the garb of religion. Unless the Parliament and people of England had the courage to stop them, these men would go on

until, from being originally suppliants, they would become masters; then it would be seen and felt, that whilst seeking toleration, and preaching civil and religious liberty, their sole object had been to exercise the most galling political and ecclesiastical tyranny. He called upon the Government and the House of Commons, therefore, to come forward and rescue the country from its impending danger, to stand fast by their Protestant principles, to throw themselves on the Protestant feelings of the people, and they might rest assured that they would be able to set at nought all opposition, from whatever quarter it might come. They might depend upon it the people of England would not tamely submit to be placed under the Roman yoke. As good and loyal subjects they had yielded much to our statesmen, but to Rome and the Popery of Rome they would never bow the neck. In the present crisis they appealed to the Protestant Government of this Protestant country—the Protestant Ministers of a Protestant Sovereign—to adhere firmly to those principles by the maintenance of which the Throne had been kept in safety and security, and our blessed constitution in Church and State had been established and perfected. Let them fear God and do their duty. He would now propose the Motion of which he had given notice.

MR. JAMES MACGREGOR seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed—

“That this House do resolve itself into a Committee, to consider the Act 8 & 9 *Vict.*, c. 25, being ‘An Act to amend two Acts passed in Ireland for the better education of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, and for the better government of the College established at Maynooth for the education of such persons, and also an Act passed in the Parliament of the United Kingdom for amending the said two Acts,’ commonly called the last Maynooth Act, with a view to the repeal of those Clauses of the said Act which provide Money Grants in any way to the said College.”

MR. SCHOLEFIELD moved the following Amendment :—

“To leave out all the words after the word ‘consider,’ and to substitute the following words: ‘All enactments now in force whereby the revenue of the State is charged in aid of any ecclesiastical or religious purposes whatsoever, with a view to the repeal of such enactments.’”

SIR WILLIAM CLAY seconded the Amendment.

The debate on the Amendment was adjourned, and *resumed* on Wednesday morning. The Question being put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question," the House *divided*:—Ayes 162 ; Noes 192 : Majority 30. But it being now six o'clock, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without putting the Question.

The Motion, as *amended*, was put on the 2nd March. After debate on Question,

#### IN REPLY.

MR. SPOONER said his hon. and learned friend the member for Enniskillen (Mr. Whiteside) had gone so completely into the question of Maynooth, that he should not touch upon the question now, but content himself merely with answering the appeals which had been made to him on the subject. The hon. and learned member for Cork (Mr. Serjeant Murphy) got up with a view to reply to his hon. and learned friend ; but feeling how great was his inability to do so, and that he could not deny the facts, or controvert the conclusions to which his hon. and learned friend had arrived, with characteristic ingenuity he proceeded to divert the attention of the House from the subject, and delivered a long speech about the Canadian reserves. The hon. and learned member said that he (Mr. Spooner) had put two different motions on the books last year ; and that when he found he could not carry the motion for inquiry, he then tried to wipe off the endowment without inquiry. The hon. and learned member added that at that time the Roman Catholic members were all eager and anxious for inquiry. Now, he (Mr. Spooner) appealed to hon. members who sat in that House during the last Parliament whether or not that was a fair statement of the facts? True, hon. members professed a desire for inquiry ; but whilst they did that, they took good care to meet him day after day with every obstacle which the forms of the House placed within their power. They acted, indeed, as if they were determined that

an inquiry should not take place; and they used the forms of the House in such a manner that at length he felt himself obliged to rest altogether on the mere question of adjournment. He (Mr. Spooner) had been charged with having brought forward statements against the Roman Catholic clergy in regard to their conduct at the last elections in Ireland, which were totally unfounded; and it was said that the papers he had quoted from did not deserve the attention of the House. Now, at the time he quoted these papers he stated that he knew nothing about the parties they might chance to represent. He quoted extracts, not only from the public papers circulated in Ireland, but from a number of English papers, into which extracts had been copied. And he had done this in order to show that the education at Maynooth had not been such as to answer the expectations of those who proposed the endowment of that college. But was it to be believed that the various papers he quoted—agreeing, as they did, in the circumstances, and giving the names of the places—could be all in a conspiracy to state that which was utterly false? If they were, why did not the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood come forward and vindicate themselves in the courts of law? Why did they not file criminal informations against the papers which thus slandered them? Surely, if they suffered such statements to be made in their own country, under their very eyes, and to go uncontradicted, no one could be blamed for arriving at the conclusion that the statements were correct. That, in his judgment, afforded a pretty satisfactory proof of the charge he had made that the education at Maynooth had not answered the purpose for which the endowment of that institution was effected. He had also been told that the books from which he had quoted were not believed by all Roman Catholics, and that they were not bound by their contents. That point he left Roman Catholic gentlemen to settle with their priests. It was an undoubted fact, however, that the books referred to were taught at Maynooth, and that the State paid for such teaching. He did not arraign individuals amongst the Roman Catholics for their private



opinions, but he did arraign this House and the Government of this country for giving their sanction to the doctrines disseminated at Maynooth. He had moved for the withdrawal of the endowment, not from any mere pecuniary consideration—not from any objection to endowments for the cultivation and teaching of true religion ; his objection to Maynooth was, that doctrines were taught there which were not only repugnant and injurious to society at large in this country, but completely subversive of that Protestant principle which the Sovereign upon the Throne was bound to maintain, and which Parliament ought, by every means in its power, to uphold and defend. Show him any other college endowed with the money of the State in which such doctrines were taught—where the supremacy of the Pope of Rome was asserted as against the supremacy of the Crown—and where doctrines totally antagonistic to the holy Word of God were maintained, and he would be the first to vote for the withdrawal of the endowment. But he could not consent to purchase it upon the low ground his hon. friend (Mr. Muntz) had suggested, and should, therefore, vote against the Resolution of the member for Birmingham.

Question put.

The House *divided* :—Ayes 68 ; Noes 262 : Majority 194.

Main Question, as *amended*, *negatived*.

## EXPOSURE OF THE COMMISSION, &c.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

May 1st, 1855.

THE SPEAKER having called upon Mr. Spooner, a large body of members at once rushed from their places in different parts of the House with petitions in their hands, which they flung upon the table in heaps, regardless of the right hon. gentleman's repeated and vehement calls to order, jeopardising the existence of the clerks, and threatening to overwhelm those unfortunate gentlemen and Her Majesty's Ministers with them under the terrible avalanche. For some minutes the scene, as it appeared from the gallery, was one of the utmost confusion, and such as is seldom witnessed in the House of Commons. Members bearing petitions in their arms, coming in collision with each other in all directions, choked up the gangways and crowded in upon those who first reached the table, effectually barring their retreat, and making confusion worse confounded. The Speaker, having requested members to take their places, explained that the hon. member for North Warwick was presenting petitions, and that when he had done other hon. members would have an opportunity of doing the same in their turn. This assurance had the effect of arresting the tumult, and restoring a proper measure of decorum. Members returned to their seats, and the presentation of petitions was proceeded with in the usual manner. The little episode here described was the result of members labouring under the misapprehension that when the Speaker called upon Mr. Spooner, it was for the purpose of at once proceeding with his motion, whereby they would have been precluded from presenting the mass of petitions entrusted to their care.

After five o'clock, three hundred and sixty-three petitions against the Endowment of Maynooth College were presented from various parts of the United Kingdom, amongst them being several by MR. SPOONER, from congregations at Birmingham, Aston, and other places in Warwickshire, and thirteen from congregations at Wolverhampton.—MR. BROTHERTON presented a petition from Manchester and Salford, signed by 27,757 persons, and MR. LANGTON presented two from Bristol, signed by 12,000 persons.

MR. SPOONER then rose and said that once more—[*a laugh*—] he ventured to bring under the attention of the House the important question to which the notice standing in his name had reference. That question he regarded as a most vital one; and he conscientiously believed that a right settlement of it was necessary for the safety of the Crown, for the integrity of the empire, and for the happiness of his fellow-subjects.

Indeed, it was neither more nor less than this:—would they maintain inviolate the Protestant Constitution which had been so dearly purchased by their ancestors, and under which the country had so many years been blessed; or would they neglect that important duty, the relinquishment of which would be visited with consequences far beyond his power to describe? If they would maintain that Constitution, they must look around them, and see where it was in danger, and he believed its greatest danger was to be found in the practice of yielding, with the view of conciliating, to those, who never would be conciliated, unless they attained complete and absolute Supremacy.

Since he had had the honour of a seat in that House, he had frequently heard it declared that nothing would satisfy the parties to whom he alluded but placing upon the same footing the Roman Catholic Church and the Established Church of England and Ireland. In bringing the present motion before the House, he was impelled by a resistless sense of the duty which rested upon him, and he felt that he should be betraying the great trust reposed in him by his neighbours and friends who had returned him to that

House, if he witnessed, in silence, the arrogant encroachments which were being made upon the Constitution, and listened passively to the unveiled declarations that were put forth, by Roman Catholics themselves, as to their objects.

Various objections had been taken to his motion ; and to those objections he would now endeavour to give as plain an answer as he possibly could. *The first to which he would advert was the objection as to time*—an objection which, if the question were merely a political one, would be worthy of all consideration ; but he dealt with the question as a religious question, and had no hesitation in declaring his conviction that the original establishment and continued endowment of Maynooth was a great national sin, and that if it were persisted in we should have no right to expect anything else than the judgment of Almighty God upon us for abandoning our high duties and sacrificing our great privileges. If, then, it were a sin, the present time was always the time to deal with it, and they were not to permit it to endure a moment longer than they could help ; and, viewing it in this light, he felt that no political reasons would be sufficient to justify procrastination in considering this important subject.

*The next objection was, that our gallant allies were Roman Catholics, and that we should do nothing that would have the effect of estranging them from us.* But he had too much faith in the patriotic principles and generous feelings of our brave and gallant allies to suppose that any jealousy would be excited between the two nations on that score. Moreover, he had heard from a quarter in which he put implicit faith, and to which, if he mentioned it, every member in the House would pay the most respectful deference, that at this moment there was a strong independent Gallican feeling aroused in France against the Ultramontane doctrines which were taught at Maynooth, and which the Pope was endeavouring to enforce in that country. [Hear.] The Archbishop of Paris had at that moment a quarrel with the Pope on the subject of that most monstrous of all impositions—the Immaculate Conception of

the Virgin Mary. There was as much jealousy in France on the subject of Rome as in England. But he (Mr. Spooner) would not put it on that ground; for he could never believe that our brave and generous allies could be deterred from the object for which they had joined this country by any such consideration.

But he would be told *that our own soldiers are Romanists*, and he would be asked if he meant to aggravate their feelings. His answer was, no. [Hear, hear.] They were Roman Catholics, it was true, but they were also sound, good loyal subjects—[*laughter*—and if they were once abstracted from the dominion of their priests—once set free from the superstitious influences which beset them, he believed they would rejoice in their liberation as much as the Protestant people in England. [“Hear,” and a laugh.] They were actuated by true principles, and not even for a moment would he suspect that they could be swayed from their duty by such considerations as these. [*Laughter from the Roman Catholic members.*] But there was another view of the case arising out of this. What was meant by not touching Maynooth *for the present*—[hear, hear]—when the Roman Catholic soldiers were fighting the battles of their country? Was it meant that it should be touched when that fighting was over? It meant that, or it meant nothing. If, however, that was its meaning, how could such a mode of dealing with these soldiers be tolerated? Was it not to act with the utmost deceit? [Hear, hear.] Surely it would be wrong to conceal your intentions until the fighting was over, and then to carry them out. The House should tell them that as Protestants they could not conscientiously consent to support any longer an institution which taught an idolatrous religion. [*Cheers and laughter.*]

MR. FAGAN rose to order. [*Cheers.*] The Speaker had, if he was not mistaken, laid it down as a rule that expressions offensive to the religious feelings of any of the members should not be used. The word idolatrous was highly offensive. He (Mr. Fagan) therefore put it to the Speaker whether it ought to be used?

The SPEAKER said it was the practice on all occasions that expressions offensive to the religious opinion of any great body of the members of that House were not desirable, as they were calculated to hurt their feelings.

MR. SPOONER submitted to the decision of the Speaker. He had no wish to irritate any man's feelings; but he might be permitted to say that the word was to be found in the Formula of the Church, as applied to the celebration of the mass;—[“*Idolatry* to be abhorred of all faithful Christians.”—*See Rubric after the Communion Service* ;]—and that the doctrine of *Masses* was stigmatised as one of “blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.”

The next objection that was made to his motion was, that *it would be a breach of faith* to withdraw the grant to Maynooth; that a *compact* had been made, that an institution had been established, and that the Legislature had no business to touch it. He denied the compact however, and he maintained that there was nothing to bind the House to continue the grant. [Hear, hear.] It was, in fact, a free grant—a grant given by the liberality of this country, *and no sacrifice had been made by the Roman Catholics which would render it of the nature of a compact*. What Parliament granted freely, therefore, Parliament was free to resume, as the grant had not been made for any *consideration*. On this point he (Mr. Spooner) was quite of opinion with one whose memory was still highly respected in that House, and whose words still were received as authority—he meant the late Sir Robert Peel. On the 3rd of April, 1845, what said Sir Robert Peel? He said—

“It is, I trust, conceived in the spirit to which I have referred—a liberal and confiding spirit. We have not introduced it without communication with the leading ecclesiastical authorities in the Roman Catholic Church. *It has not been a subject of stipulation or contract with them*. We have intimated to them our intention, and we have every reason to believe that they are satisfied with and grateful for the measure; that they will strongly recommend its acceptance; and that the great body of the intelligence and respectability of the Roman Catholic community will accept the measure as a liberal and efficient maintenance for the establishment at Maynooth.”

That was the declaration of the right hon. gentleman who made the concession—those were the consequences which that right hon. gentleman hoped would follow. He (Mr. Spooner) asked any man who had ever held office under Her Majesty since that grant was made—any man who had had anything to do with the elections in Ireland—whether the expectations had been realised? If, then, the object for which the grant was given had failed—if the grant had been received in a spirit different from what had been expected—if the conduct of the recipients had been the reverse of that which it was intended should be promoted—did not the whole ground of that objection to this motion fall away? [Hear, hear.] But, besides this declaration of Sir Robert Peel, there was a declaration of the noble lord the Minister of the Colonies, which was equally specific on this point. On the 3d of April, 1845, the noble lord said in the debate on the subject—

“I do not mean to argue, as has been done by other hon. gentlemen, the question of *compact*, or whether it would be wise or prudent after fifty years, during which this grant has been made, to stop suddenly and to declare that you will advance no further sums from the public purse for the purpose of educating the priests of the Roman Catholic religion. But, at the same time I will say that if you found you were doing that which was mischievous to the community, and that the religious scruples of the community would not allow of the continuance of this grant, or, with reference to civil and political reasons, you found that those you meant to be the teachers of religion had become the leaders and conductors of rebellion—if, I say, you found for any of these causes that there was ground sufficient to refuse this grant, then I can see no valid reason why any compact should restrain you, or why, upon strong grounds of this kind, the House would not be justified in declaring that it would give no further allowance.”

Leaders of rebellion! Disturbers of the public peace! These were the words of the noble lord; were they borne out by the conduct of the parties? If the records of the Irish elections were looked to, it would be seen what steps had been taken to ensure the success of the Roman Catholic candidates. And he (Mr. Spooner) would show that the doctrine taught in Maynooth fully squared with that conduct; he could show that two professors of

that College had declared that it might be a mortal sin to vote for *the wrong man*: and the people of England were paying for the propagation of such pernicious principles! Every one of the cases contemplated by the noble lord had, consequently, occurred; and he (Mr. Spooner) therefore claimed the support of the noble lord for his motion, as well as he did the authority of Sir Robert Peel. The deep-seated feeling of the people of England also called for a repeal of the grant. That was one of the grounds set forth by the noble lord. He (Mr. Spooner) appealed, however, to hon. gentlemen whether the communications from their constituents were not a universal and strong expression of their opinions on the subject of Maynooth? Surely, then, he might safely say with the noble lord, that if the religious *scruples*, as the noble lord designated them—*the religious principles*, as he (Mr. Spooner) should designate them—of the constituency were thus outraged, the Legislature was bound to act accordingly.

He (Mr. Spooner) now came to the consideration of the Report of the Commissioners. He would observe that he had performed a task which he believed few other hon. members had done, having diligently waded through this document, and called in the aid of most valuable assistance to enable him to digest the evidence that had been taken, and to get at the real truth of the Report, so that he might place it more clearly and concisely before the House than he otherwise could have done. A careful examination would show that the Report was in great part a complete sham and deceit. When he first made his charges respecting Maynooth no one denied them; and the next year, being convinced of their truth, he declined a proposition of the noble lord opposite to appoint a Commission, on the ground that the inquiry would be defeated by the Jesuitry of the College. These views were fully borne out by the Report. In the first place there occurred that most unwarrantable proceeding which the noble lord at the head of the Government admitted to be a fact, namely, that the evidence taken before Her Majesty's Commission was sent by Dr. Cullen to Rome



without Her Majesty's consent, and without the knowledge of some of the Commissioners; and that the document remained in Rome for several weeks, if not months. This happened while Parliament and the country were anxiously awaiting the result of the inquiry; whilst the Report was being "cooked" at Rome with the view of making things pleasant. The proceeding was most unconstitutional, involving a breach of the Royal confidence, an insult to the Crown and to that House, and a trifling with the feelings of the people; and in other times impeachment would have followed such a traitorous transaction.

It was clear on the face of the Report that it had been altered without the consent of all the Commissioners. The Report *must* have been altered without the consent of the Commissioners. Was the noble lord at the head of the Government aware that in the return of the bishops educated at Maynooth, made by the officer of the College, and published in the Appendix to the Report, the full territorial titles were given to a Roman Catholic as "Archbishop of Armagh and the Primate of all Ireland," and to Dr. Cullen as "Apostolic Delegate" of the Pope, both of which designations were in open defiance of the Act of Parliament passed by the noble lord, and of the ancient Laws of the Realm? The law had thus been trampled upon, apparently with the sanction of the Commissioners; but the sanction was only apparent, because he was authorised by Lord Harrowby, the highly-respected chairman, to say, that these territorial titles did not appear in the Return when given in evidence before them. How they found their way there it was not for him (Mr. Spooner) to say; but it was the duty of the Government to investigate the matter, and bring the offenders to justice; and if they failed to do so, it was to be hoped that the House itself would insist on a searching inquiry.

The Return in question was made by the President of the College, and appeared in page 133 of the Report. One of the objectionable titles it contained was this—"Province of Leinster: the Most Rev. Paul Cullen, Apostolic Delegate." Now the law

of England recognised no such person as an *apostolic delegate*, and the law officers of the Crown, if they had done their duty, would not have suffered the individual assuming such a title to remain in the country. Another name given in the same Return was this—"His Grace the Most Rev. Joseph Dixon, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland." It was to be regretted that, owing to a defect in the Act, the person who ascribed illegal titles to another was not equally punishable with the individual assuming them; but he confidently asked the Attorney-General for Ireland whether, as this Return was made by the authorised officer of the College, who was under the control of these Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, who were its principals and trustees, those ecclesiastics were not as responsible for the act of their agent as if they had themselves personally assumed these illegal titles? The Rev. John O'Hanlon, in his second examination, mentioned, in answer to a question put to him, the name of "Dr. Dixon, Archbishop of Armagh," giving, in this instance, again the prohibited territorial title. Should any prosecution be instituted under the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, or against any aggression of the Church of Rome upon the Church of England, would not this evidence be quoted as conclusively proving that we had admitted these Roman Catholic Bishops to the full enjoyment of the privileges they had arrogated to themselves? [Hear, hear.] Would it not be said by them that a Royal Commission had given them those titles, that this House had accepted them, and had, by accepting them, given their sanction to such titles? Lord Harrowby had told him that he was perfectly sure these titles could not have been introduced into the evidence with the knowledge of the learned Dr. Twiss, for he said they were both exceedingly particular in guarding against any breach of the law. Well, then, it would rest with the right hon. Speaker and the noble lord opposite, whether they would sit contentedly by, and suffer this grave breach of the law, giving it their sanction by allowing this illegal document to lie as an uncontradicted Report among the records of Parliament. That was the case as regarded these titles.

He would now refer to a very important communication, the original of which was an anonymous one, but the communicator of which, though unknown to him, was well known to highly respectable persons in Dublin. There came into his possession, unsought for by him, some pages of the proof sheets of two of the witnesses' evidence, which had in some way or other got out of the possession of those who had them to correct.

He had therefore seen the alterations which had been made, not the first revision, not the revision of the shorthand writer's notes only, but in a revision of the revise. It was known and admitted that this evidence was in the hands of the persons who gave it, for weeks and for months together, and during that time consultations were held, the evidence was reviewed, and the result had been such as he would allude to more particularly by-and-bye. He would first put it to any man at all accustomed to examine evidence, whether the course taken by the Commission was one calculated to elicit the truth. Their first step was to send out written queries and ask for written answers (relating to the particular doctrines and principles *impugned*), thus giving the different professors an opportunity of uniting to give such evidence as would suit their opinions; in other words, laying the foundation for a conspiracy, which conspiracy no man used to evidence, and who had examined these books, could say had not been most ingeniously and completely carried out. Then, again, Lord Harrowby was all along known to have been an advocate and approver of the present College, and no Commissioner was sent there whose opinions were not known to be in favour of Maynooth. Undoubtedly, Lord Harrowby was not a man to allow himself to be influenced by his own opinions in such a case, but he (Mr. Spooner) thought some one ought to have been sent with his lordship who was opposed to Maynooth. Dr. Twiss, he believed, was similarly inclined with the Earl of Harrowby, though no doubt as worthy of confidence as his lordship. He did say, however, that, remembering the constitution of the Commission, appointed as it was by a Government known to

be favourable to this endowment, there was strong ground for suspicion. [Hear, hear.]

He quoted its Report now, without any confidence in it, though, bad as it was, there was enough in it to show that the teaching of Maynooth was the same as it was when he first brought it before the House; that certainly there was no amelioration about it, but that, if anything, it was rather worse than before, and that Ultramontane doctrines were on the increase. [Hear.] The truth of the statement above referred to, was strongly corroborated by communications made to him by Lord Harrowby before alluded to, namely, that alterations had been made in the evidence, that the full territorial titles had been given without his knowledge.

In the transcript of the shorthand writer's notes the Roman Catholic bishops were only designated by their usual titles as bishops. The gentleman to whom he had referred said he could prove on oath, at the bar of that House, that the ordinary permission given to witnesses to correct their evidence was far exceeded, and "that the evidence was so materially altered in many points as to destroy the spirit as well as the letter of both question and answer." [Hear, hear.] He (Mr. Spooner) had seen some original questions and answers referred to, and this was a perfectly accurate description of what had taken place. [The hon. member here held up the Report, on the first pages of which the evidence was seen as corrected and restored to its original condition at the time it was given, and exhibited a most unprecedented instance of mutilation and alteration, which created much sensation in the House.] His informant said—

"To a question respecting the turbulent conduct of certain students at Maynooth during political excitement, the original reply was this—'That such conduct was scarcely to be wondered at when it was discovered that very many of those students were sent from dioceses such as that of Dr. M'Hale, and the students imagined that such ebullitions were tolerable because they were in unison with the avowed principles of their patrons.' This answer appeared in the shorthand writer's notes, but both the question and answer were erased, and marked 'IRRELEVANT.'"

He asked hon. members, knowing the way in which the Chair-

man of a Parliamentary Committee would keep the Report in the strict sense and meaning of the evidence, whether it was likely that a chairman would have ordered or sanctioned such alterations? There was another instance in which *nine questions* put to the Rev. Mr. Flannagan, the secretary to the trustees, which appeared in the shorthand writer's notes, were compressed into *one question* and answer in the Report. This was the evidence originally given—nine original questions and answers were compressed into this one—28 lines into 12; also, the original oral evidence had 80 questions and answers, while the “doctored” edition had only 22. The following is the true evidence:—

“65.—There appear upon the minutes, proposals for the purchase of different volumes. At whose instance were those proposals made?—The proposals are sent in, either through one of the members of the board, or through me, and I lay them before the board.

“66.—Do they come from the principal, or the Council, or from whom?—From the person who wants to get a book purchased.

“67.—In the minutes there is this entry made—‘Ordered, that 50 copies of the Rev. Dr. Donovan's work should be purchased for the College’ (at 50s. each, equal to £125.) At whose instance would that have been?—The communication came through me; it was sustained by two or three of the trustees.

“68.—Who put you in motion?—The author—if it is to be recommended. I am not prepared to say that those books are bought for premiums; some of them are given as premiums, some are sold, and some are given out for the use of the College.

“69.—Some years ago was there not a great loss in the purchase of a large number of Breviaries?—I am not aware of that.

“70.—A breviary got up by Coyne, ‘Coyne's *Diurnal*,’ 1,000 copies, to be purchased at 3s. ? (£150)—(*Answer.*) These would of course be required.

“71.—‘200 copies of Dr. Miley's book on the Papal States’—would that be at the solicitation of Dr. Miley himself, or at the instance of the principal?—The communication came from him, not through me, but through some of the Bishops.

“72.—‘200 copies of *Cambrensis Eversus*.’ At whose instance was that? (£1 each, equal to £200.)—I think it was the president that brought forward that *Cambrensis*.

“It should be taken into account that the trustees themselves have been for the most part either Dunboyne students or professors, and therefore they *know of their knowledge* what would be most useful for the College. There

is no compliment for the author ever considered," (this seems a gratuitous remark,) "and there is no specific use mentioned when the books are purchased. It may be said—'this will be a very good book for the boys' premiums,' 'this will be a very good book for the library,' or 'this will be a very good book for the students.'

"73.—They are bought at the trade price, are they not?—Yes."

This, which he would now read, was the *doctored* false edition—Report, Part II., page 2, No. 21—

"In the minutes furnished by you to the Commissioners there are orders for the purchase of a considerable number of copies of certain books, viz., 50 copies of Dr. Donavan's work; 200 of Dr. Miley's work on the Papal States; 200 copies of Cambrensis Eversus; and 1000 copies of Coyne's Diurnal, &c., &c." (No mention of *Breviaries* here.) "From whom did these proposals come, and for what purpose were they purchased?—The proposals came either from the authors, the translators, the editors, printers, or proprietors of the books. They were uniformly addressed to the trustees, through the secretary or one of the trustees; and though the orders of the trustees to the bursar were simply 'to purchase so many copies of such a work for the College at the trade price, or at some fixed price,' I can answer that they were purchased for premiums, for sale, or for the use of the students in the library—such purposes being stated at the board when the question of purchasing was discussed."

This evidence was garbled in order to hide a *job* which was to put money into the pockets of the booksellers. This, in the original evidence, was too open, and therefore the questions and answers were compressed into one. This was, perhaps, not a matter of great importance, but what confidence could they place in evidence which had been so dealt with? The correspondent he had alluded to also wrote that, "with regard to the titles of the Bishops, both in the transcript copy and in the second and third revised proofs, they appeared in the simple garb prescribed by law, but that afterwards they were entirely altered," and that, "the minutes would be burthened with the assumed and high-sounding titles peculiar to the Romish Bishops." Lord Harrowby had told him that some of the proofs of the evidence were sent for, time after time, and answers were returned that they were sent to this place,

and then to somewhere else, and that more time was wished for, so that it was delayed so long that they were obliged to leave the final arrangements for the printer with the secretaries.

It would be found that one of the Roman Catholic Commissioners had communicated, through Dr. Cullen, with Rome, and the only inference that he (Mr. Spooner) could draw from this was that one of the Roman Catholic Secretaries had communicated with the corrector of this evidence. He thought that this demanded inquiry, and asked the House whether they would suffer this evidence to remain uninvestigated, and sanctioned by the acceptance and adoption of this House? Would they not adopt an inquiry in order to see whether this was correct or not, and to see who it was that had presumed to send evidence to Dr. Cullen, through whom it was laid before the Pope? He remembered that when he asked the noble lord at the head of the Government which of the Commissioners had sent the Report to Dr. Cullen, the noble lord answered, "Of course one of the Roman Catholic Commissioners." It was nothing more than justice to say that this was unknown to Lord Harrowby, Dr. Twiss, or, *as he was told*, to Baron Pigot. It must therefore be the other Commissioner, Mr. O'Ferrall, who had done this; and the hon. gentleman the Secretary for Ireland was not worthy of his office if he did not institute some legal inquiry into this matter. If an inquiry into the matter were not instituted, the Commission would be deemed a farce and a disgrace.

It had been a work of great labour to arrive at the facts, with so much Jesuitry were they concealed, and he should have been unable to go through with it had he not been assisted by those who were accustomed to deal with such subjects. He had, in 1852, made a statement with regard to the books taught at Maynooth, and he had since renewed that statement, which now remained entirely unanswered and uncontroverted. They had not dared to deny the existence of the books to which he had referred, but they said they used them merely as class-books, although the students had free access to them. But they were the books upon which

lectures were grounded, and were therefore in fact used for the purposes of teaching. One of the most celebrated of the books (Liguori's), which was highly recommended by the dignitaries of the Church, contained the doctrine *that equivocation in a good cause was justifiable*. Dr. Wiseman had pronounced the author of this book to be one of the most celebrated—perhaps the most celebrated—of the casuists of the Roman Catholic Church. Another very high authority mentioned in the evidence as a book of first-rate reference upon Canon Law, Reiffenstuel, vouched for by Dr. Murray, a professor at Maynooth, as “the most celebrated of the Canonists,” lays down this doctrine (lib. v., tit. 7, No. 313)—

“He who owes anything to a heretic by means of purchase, promise, exchange, pledge, deposit, loan, or any other contract, is, *ipso jure*, by the law itself, free from the obligation, and is not bound to keep his promise, bargain, or contract, or his plighted faith *even though sworn*, to a HERETIC.”

This was a Maynooth book of reference, and these were its commercial morals! It would require much more evidence than had been adduced to convince him that those who used the class-book in which such an opinion was pronounced had taken any pains to counteract the evil which it was calculated to produce.

He now came to a subject which he always approached with great reluctance—namely, the confessional; and he would take the opportunity of saying that he knew nothing about the disgusting and horrible publication upon that subject which had been sent to every member of the House. [Hear, hear.] When he received it he applied to the Protestant Association and the Protestant Alliance—the two Societies which took a deep interest in this question—to ascertain whether any of their servants or agents had dared to insult the House by the publication of such a disgusting statement.

Neither of those Societies knew anything about the pamphlet, and he had not the shadow of a suspicion as to who was the author, although pains had been taken to discover him. He had;



however, with the friends to whom he had alluded, who were competent scholars, compared the details contained in the pamphlet with the books from which they purported to be taken, and he found that they had been accurately quoted. He asked the House whether they were justified in calling upon the people of this country to contribute their money in order to circulate books which contained the disgusting details mentioned in that pamphlet? And this most important moral might be justly founded upon this circumstance—that if the private reading of the filth contained in those books was disgusting, they ought so much the more to revolt at the practice of contributing from the funds of this Protestant nation to teach such pestiferous and polluting matter. One of the highest authorities upon the subject of the confessional was Liguori, who said (vol. i., lib. iv., tr. 4, No. 634)—

“This seal (of confession) is an obligation of Divine Law, most strict in every case, *even where the safety of a whole kingdom should be imperilled, to conceal, even after the death of the penitent, all those things that have been spoken in confession (that is, in order to sacramental absolution), a disclosure of which would render the Sacrament irksome or odious.*”

This was a book which above all others was relied upon by the best authorities of the Roman Church, and given to the study of young men; but was it a book that ought to receive the sanction and approval of the Legislature of this country? He felt assured that the whole nation did join in thanksgiving at the providential escape of our august ally the Emperor of the French from the recent attempt that had been made upon his life; but suppose that the intended assassin had confessed to the priest that he purposed committing the crime he had attempted to perpetrate, the confessor, on the authority of this highly recommended book, dared not have divulged the premeditated crime, because the seal of the confessional was held to be inviolable. In another part of the work, the reason given why the priest must not disclose a fact made known to him in the confessional was, “because he knows it, not as a man, but as God.” (*Ib.*, No. 646.) In fact, it was held that the priest

stood in the confessional in the place and character of God: oh, the blasphemy of such a statement! to hear the confessions and outpourings of the heart of one sinner to another!

Regarding Elections, in reading the evidence given before the Commissioners it would be found that almost every professor began by stating that the Pope had no power to interfere with anything temporal, and that, generally speaking, the elections were temporal matters; but, in a most Jesuitical manner, the question was then met by stating that there might be occasions when it would become a mortal sin to vote for a wrong candidate; that it was the duty of the elector to consult the benefit of the Church; that, in certain cases, their temporality became swallowed up in their spirituality, and that in such cases the priests were not only authorised, but *obligated* to influence the elector in giving his vote.

Dr. O'Hanlon, in his evidence before the Commissioners (No. 148), admitted that the distinction between temporal and spiritual affairs was sometimes "a very nice one, and was no doubt a troublesome question," and that there were some matters which were not necessarily either of a purely spiritual or a purely temporal nature. The same witness acknowledged that every vote for a member of Parliament was a temporal matter, its immediate end or object being to invest a man with a trust or privilege to be exercised to some extent or other for the worldly benefit of the people; but he then proceeded to state that a vote might also become a spiritual matter, because its direct and immediate effect might sometimes be the commission or avoidance of sin. Further on in his evidence Dr. O'Hanlon stated that the priest was not competent to inflict any censure of the Church, yet "absolutely speaking, he would be warranted in withholding any Sacraments of the Church from a man by reason of his preferring one candidate to another; because a priest is not only warranted, but bound to withhold the Sacraments from a man *who is disposed to commit a mortal sin.*" In the case of simple and ignorant people, who, the witness said, were a very numerous class in Ireland, it was said to be necessary that some

intelligent person should prescribe the course they ought to pursue, because they were utterly incompetent of themselves to form any rational or decided judgment on the matter. And that the most likely man was the priest. Thus it would be seen that the latter part of the evidence of Dr. O'Hanlon entirely contradicted the former part, wherein he stated that the Pope had no right whatever to interfere in elections. If the charges which had been made in newspapers and other publications in this country against Roman Catholic priests had been falsely preferred against any Clergyman in this country, he ventured to say that on the first day of term an application would have been made by the person accused for a criminal information against his slanderers. Could it be supposed for a moment that any intelligent or sensible Priests, against whom such charges were made falsely, would submit to them if they were innocent?

With regard to the subject of oaths and equivocation, he found in *Liguori* (lib. iii., tr. 2, No. 154) the following passage:—

“These things being established, it is a certain and common opinion among all divines, that for a just cause, it is lawful to use *equivocation* in the propounded modes, AND TO CONFIRM IT WITH AN OATH.”

*Liguori's* definition of a just cause was—

“But a just cause is any honest end, in order to preserve good things for the spirit, or useful things for the body.”

How was it possible to live in society with any security upon such terms as these?

He would now ask the attention of the House to the subject of the rejection by the Roman Catholic authorities of the works of Bailly. The Commissioners reported—

“The works of Bailly having been placed in the *Index* of prohibited books at Rome, the trustees of Maynooth at their next meeting directed them to be discontinued in the College.”

The Rev. J. O'Hanlon, who was examined before the Commissioners, in reply to the question whether he knew why Bailly had been placed in the *Index*, and why his works were placed in the *Index*, said—

"I have no official or positive knowledge why he was condemned; but, if it be necessary to give an opinion on the subject, I should say that he was condemned because he was a decided *Gallican*. (Appendix No. 1.) It is perfectly certain that the Gallican doctrines, at least to their full extent, are not acceptable to the Pope. Besides, Bailly has advanced a doctrine on the subject of *Marriage* which is also distasteful in Rome.....Bailly maintains the separability of the contract of marriage from the sacrament, contending that marriage among Christians may exist as a valid contract, without being a Sacrament. The present Pontiff, in his Allocution to the Cardinals, September, 1852, in reference, I think, to some disputes which were at that time disturbing some of the South American Churches (with the Archbishop of Lima), has *formally laid down* that no marriage among Christians can be valid unless it be a sacrament. Bailly and the French theologians generally maintain a different opinion; and this may be one of the reasons, if not the principal one, why Bailly was disapproved of by the Pope, and placed in the *Index*."—Report, pt. ii., p. 5, No. 8.

The fact was that Bailly opposed the doctrines of the Ultramontane party with respect to marriage, and maintained that marriage among Christians might exist as a valid contract, without being a sacrament. Dr. O'Hanlon was asked whether it would be considered as a matter of course that any book put in the *Index* was not to be used in any Roman Catholic College, and he stated that the *Index* was not "received," and therefore, imposed no obligation in Ireland, adding, "but, as Clergymen belonging to an ecclesiastical institution, *we feel ourselves constrained* to defer to the expressed wishes of the Pope," and that it would be "unbecoming to continue a book which the Pope has disapproved." And again: "The placing such a book as Bailly in the *Index* in the time of Louis XIV. I am sure would not have displaced it in the French Universities." [Who, it seems, were *before* the British as to Constitutional Independence.] What, then, became of the declarations that Papal Rescripts, Allocutions, and Bulls were not legally binding? What became of the declaration that the Pope exercised no influence over Maynooth College? HE WOULD ASK THAT HOUSE, WERE THEY DISPOSED TO TRUCKLE TO THE POPE? What did it all amount to, but that this country was absolutely contributing its money to support the teaching of doctrines under

the guidance and direction of the Pope, who, it was clear, had the control of all the books used in the College of Maynooth for the purposes of education, and whose authority every priest was bound in conscience to obey? [Hear.] One of the Professors, Dr. Crolly (p. 29, part ii.), had stated this matter clearly enough, thus—

“ I repeat, if the Pope issue any *commands* on the subject of education, it is the duty of the *subject* to obey. If the Pope had not control of *education* he might as well give up ruling the Church altogether.”

He could produce many other extracts with regard to these books, but he hoped he had said enough to induce hon. members to read them. He was afraid Ministers had no time to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with them. The book of Bailly had been rejected because it maintained that a marriage was valid without being a sacrament. The Ultramontane doctrine, the opposite of that, was, that every marriage, to be valid, must be a Sacrament. Let them suppose the consequences of applying such a doctrine to Civil Succession and other matters connected with marriage in this country. [Hear, hear.] Let them recollect the large body of priests who had been educated, under the influence of the Pope, at Maynooth, and the results that would follow if they were unhappily to succeed in imbuing the population of this country with the Ultramontane doctrine in question. What had happened once might happen again. Questions of succession might arise with regard to the Crown; and as the doctrine of the Church of Rome was, that every marriage, to be valid, must be a sacrament, an inference might be drawn *that there was no legitimate marriage of the Sovereign, and therefore no legitimate succession.* [Hear, hear.] He called upon them to stop the support given to a clergy who bowed to the Pope's decrees, and who were found by the evidence—garbled and cooked as it was—to acknowledge the express wish of the Pope as a command with regard to the education in the College of Maynooth. [Hear.] It was by their means, under their patronage, that such Anti-national views and wishes were carried out.

He asked them to put an end to such a system. He asked to be allowed to bring in a bill to withdraw the national consent and support from a College positively and directly under the influence of the Pope, and which thinks itself bound to obey his wish so far as to afford only that education which he in his wisdom might think fit. The bill which he proposed to bring in had been most carefully considered. It would provide that out of the present grant the students at the College at the time of the passing of the bill should continue to receive their allowance up to the conclusion of the period of their residence—that was to say, till eight years from the dates at which they had respectively entered the College. It was also but just that the professors employed in teaching the students should have their allowances continued to them during that period. He thought it was only fair—however opposed the whose system might be to their consciences—that they should not leave those young students who had entered Maynooth, to become the victims of the national sin which this country had been guilty of in endowing the College. That burthen, that moral wickedness, they must take on themselves. With the exception mentioned, he should propose to abolish all support to Maynooth, so that it might no longer be an incorporated body, or have the national sanction of a corporation. He proposed that the members of the corporation should be constituted trustees, and that they should have full power as trustees to deal with all their property in the same way that they might have done before the Act of 1845. The passing of the bill would be a national adjuration of the principle upon which Maynooth had been founded—a declaration that they were wrong, and that they had committed a great national sin, while at the same time it would provide for the completion of the education of those young men who had entered the College trusting to the promises of the Legislature. He entreated the House to consider the great national responsibility which had fallen upon them.

They had called upon the Sovereign to take an oath to maintain the constitution of Church and State as by law established. They

had taken a solemn oath of allegiance to the Sovereign, the meaning of which was, that they were bound to uphold the Sovereign in maintaining the Constitution as established by law. In making an appeal to the Dissenters, he could assure them that if anything more was wanting to perfect religious toleration, no one would more willingly consent to it than he would. He asked them to consider their own fate if Papal Rome should obtain its supremacy. They would do well to recollect the old fable of *the lion and the ass*, and not to flatter themselves that they would enjoy in that event even the ass's privilege, which was to be devoured last. If they destroyed the Church of England they would destroy the very bulwark of their own toleration, and would speedily become the *victims* themselves. Among Roman Catholics there were, he believed, many sincere Christians, who through the forms and ceremonies of that Church, really worshipped the Saviour, notwithstanding the erroneous character of the forms themselves, and in appealing to them he did so with confidence, though deploring their mistaken opinions, in religious matters. It was his lot to reside in Worcestershire, in the immediate neighbourhood of some Roman Catholic families of the highest respectability. He believed that most of them had never investigated the pernicious doctrines which were taught in the books in question at Maynooth. He knew that they were good neighbours, impartial magistrates, liberal dispensers of charity, and he acquitted them altogether of the least intention of being in any way guided by doctrines such as those to which he had referred, and which, notwithstanding the cheer of the hon. member, well versed in all the trickery of the system, he repeated, were taught at Maynooth.

He begged the House to consider the working of Sir Robert Peel's Act. Had it conciliated Ireland? WERE THEY NOT ON THEIR KNEES TO THE PRIEST? Had they not heard the very name of toleration denounced as an insult? Had not every concession been followed by fresh demands? In spite of the oath not to disturb the existing state of property of the Established Church, Roman Catholics in that House and on the hustings, in terms not to be mistaken,

had declared that they would not rest satisfied till they enjoyed equality with the Established Church in Ireland. [*Cries of "Name."*] He had repeatedly heard such a declaration from the benches on the other side; and when last he alluded to it he was met by assenting cheers from two or three members on the other side. [Hear, hear.] They cheered his assertion that they had declared that they never would be content till they were on an equality with the Protestant Establishment. [Hear, hear.] Would not that be a disturbance of those relations of the Church which, by their oath, they were bound to respect? [Hear, hear.] The lesson to be learned from the past was, that the more they conceded to Roman Catholics the more they required; the more you gave them the more haughty were their demands; and that they would never cease their efforts, till this country should *cease* to be that which was its glory and pride—a Protestant country with a Protestant Sovereign, with a Protestant Church established by law, and with Protestant dissenters freely tolerated and in the full enjoyment of all civil rights and privileges. [Hear.] He hoped he had said nothing to hurt the feelings of any one. His only aim in what he had said with respect to those who differed from him in their religious creed, was, that he might be the happy instrument of opening their eyes by leading them to see the errors and delusions under which they had so long laboured.

In conclusion, he would say that he could hardly expect many more opportunities of addressing the House on this subject. He had come to that age when he was no longer actuated by ambition—at least, by any other ambition than that of conscientiously discharging his duty to God and to his country; and it was his earnest prayer, as an old man, contemplating, perhaps, more closely and more intensely than he ever had done, the realities of eternity, that the House and the country might, in time, see the full extent of the responsibility which pressed upon them in relation to this question. [Hear, hear.] He looked upon the support of the Roman Catholic religion as a national sin. Let Bible readers examine the Holy



Word of God, and see how that religion was denounced as a high crime against Almighty God, and how the finger of Providence was pointed against it. He trembled when he looked at the precipice on which his country stood, and it would be to him a source of inward comfort and satisfaction in the nearer view of that change which awaited him if he could see the prospect of an arrest being put on the progress of Popery, and a way opened for the advancement of true religion. He could not apologise for having so long detained the House, for he felt he had only performed a most bounden duty in so doing, but he did most sincerely thank the House for its very kind attention to his observations. The hon. member concluded by moving, amid cheers, the following Resolution :—

“That this House do resolve itself into a Committee, for the purpose of considering the Acts for the endowment of the College of Maynooth, with a view to the withdrawal of any endowment out of the Consolidated Fund, due regard being had to vested rights or interests.”

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From the “TIMES,” May 2nd, 1855.

A few weeks ago Parliament, and the nation at large, were divided on a question at first sight not very important. Was a certain Committee of Inquiry to be public or not? Was each day's evidence to be spread before the eyes of a million readers within twenty-four hours of its delivery in the committee-room, or was it to be kept “under a bushel” till the appearance of the report in three bulky volumes, next June or next September? Though we have already enough on our own hands, and the representatives of the people give us mighty little encouragement to accumulate matter in our columns, we nevertheless were strongly in favour of publishing the evidence fresh from the mouths of the witnesses. We have a prejudice in favour of fresh evidence, as we have for fresh fish. We hold it to be a very perishable commodity, soon tainted and flyblown. However, we will confess that, large as our experience of this wicked world may be, we were not fully up to all the dangers to which evidence is liable. On this point we have been immensely enlightened by a gentleman to whom as yet we have made very few such acknowledgments. It is no other than Mr. Spooner, the painstaking, conscientious, though occasionally rather prosy and boring representative of the high Protestant interest. He has made it his business to analyze the report of the Maynooth Commissioners, and has brought to light as pretty a piece of management as ever fell under our notice. The good, easy Commissioners, through their Roman Catholic colleague, appear to have given the witnesses leisure and unlimited opportunities for revising, correcting, doctoring, mutually comparing, condensing, obliterating, and otherwise garbling their own evidence, to such an extent, that the evidence, as it stands, can only be considered a series of written communications from the witnesses. As such, of course, it might have its value,

though a less value, in our opinion, than real *vivâ voce* evidence, but it has not either value. Mr. Spooner has discovered that the proof sheets of the evidence have actually passed through the ordeal of Rome, and have there been corrected to the taste of the Holy See. The result is, that what we see is, in fact, the evidence of His Holiness, or at least of his Court. We now know what he says and what he wishes his faithful children to say in Ireland. The evidence comes out not only *permissu superiorum*, but even, it may be said, *cum privilegio*. It has everything "a good Catholic" can desire, except, perhaps, a few modest insignia on the title page and blue cover, to denote the high sanction with which this document has reached us. To return to the parallel case from which we started, one sees here an unexpected gain by the publicity of the Committee now sitting upstairs. Just look at the evidence to-day. What if Sir John Burgoyne's answers had been kept snug for three or four months, submitted to the Horse Guards, to the Ordnance, to Lord Raglan, and to General Airey? What if they had been revised, and revised again, the pen drawn through a dozen answers together, and everything "made pleasant" to everybody implicated in the mismanagement of the war? The report in that case would have been simply good for nothing.

It is, of course, not the report, but the evidence, that has been submitted to this expurgatorial process. The evidence, however, is in this, as in every other inquiry, the most important part of the affair; for the report is only a matter of opinion, while the evidence is, as it ought to be, a statement not only of opinion, but also of facts, by the first and most competent authorities. Now this evidence, consisting of answers given to the Commission—not suddenly, *impromptu*, nor without due notice, but in writing, and in answer to written questions—has, even thus, not satisfied the jealousy of the Church involved in the inquiry. Even after this full preparation, enough to satisfy most witnesses, it has been returned to their hands in proof, and kept so long as to cause months of delay to the publication. Through Dr. Cullen it has made the grand tour, and resided, nobody can say how long, at Rome. There, as was to be expected, all the Roman Catholic Bishops, forbidden by the law of this country to assume territorial titles, have been enthroned in their sees; and names, presented to the Commission in due legal form as Drs. So-and-so, here come out in the published evidence as Bishops and Archbishops of certain named sees, in defiance of law. Thus Her Majesty's Commission has been insulted, and a precedent set, which, as Mr. Spooner very properly observes, may some day or other assume a dangerous consequence. Among other instances of Papal "cooking" it appears that an answer, bearing on the notoriously turbulent spirit of the students from Dr. M'Hale's diocese, has been judiciously erased; while nine questions and answers, exposing a job done with the Parliamentary grant for the benefit of some bookseller, have been rolled into one question and answer of no great significance. These offences have been discovered in the few opportunities Mr. Spooner has been enabled to procure for comparing the original evidence with the corrupted version. The whole extent of the mutilation, or even adulteration, can never be known. All that is known is, that the report of the evidence as it now stands, is from Rome, and the sooner the Commissioners disavow it the better for their dignity. We can only wonder that gentlemen of such sense and honour should permit such tricks to be played with documents once solemnly tendered to them and received as genuine evidence. They certainly were bound to check the dangerous latitude of correction assumed under the pretence of a simple revision.



## MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

April 15th, 1856.

MR. SPOONER *presented* a petition numerously signed by the Protestants of Dublin; a petition from the Edinburgh Auxiliary to the Scottish Protestant Association; a petition from more than 1,000 of the inhabitants of Edinburgh; a petition very numerously signed from the inhabitants of Leith; and a petition from the members of the Scottish Protestant Association, signed by the two Secretaries, against the grant to Maynooth College. These petitions stated that the petitioners think the principles of the Church of Rome are opposed to God's Word, and detrimental to the interests of the State, and they cannot acquiesce in the national endowment of Maynooth, which they believe to be a stronghold of error and superstition. The hon. member then rose to move—

“That this House do resolve itself into a Committee for the purpose of considering the Acts for the endowment of the College of Maynooth, with a view to the withdrawal of any endowment out of the Consolidated Fund, due regard being had to vested rights or interests.”

Frequently as he had brought this all-important question under the notice of the House of Commons, he confessed that he entered upon his task on the present occasion under circumstances of greater difficulty and greater embarrassment than had ever occurred to him before. The difficulty he was now placed in was this—that so often had he laid those reasons before the House which had led him to

the conclusion that the repeal of this grant was essential, that if it depended on himself only he should prefer going to a division on the question without further debate. But he feared that the gentlemen opposite would not consent to that course, and thus he was compelled to occupy the time of the House. The second difficulty under which he had laboured was, whether he ought not to have renewed the motion for a Committee to inquire into the dealing with the evidence taken before the Maynooth Commissioners before it was presented to Her Majesty and to Parliament. In the debate last Session he asserted, and it was admitted by the noble lord, that the evidence taken before the Commissioners had been sent to Rome before it was communicated to Parliament and Her Majesty. He certainly did think that this gross breach of confidence on the part of the Commissioners would have formed a fit subject for further inquiry, and he did think that Her Majesty's Government would have found it to be their duty to make this inquiry, and also into the fact that prohibited titles to Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics were there attributed, and allowed to be so attributed by the Commissioners. That the evidence of the witnesses had been tampered with. The witnesses were allowed to alter their evidence, and a larger field for correction was given than was customary; so that, in fact, the evidence in the Report was not the evidence that the Commissioners first received. It was impossible to say that these matters were not of importance; for when a report was made on evidence so contradictory, and so much mutilated, it was not worthy of the least consideration. He thought that this was a question into which the Government ought to have instituted inquiry, but that if he moved to renew that inquiry this Session, it would operate as a bar to his bringing before the House the still more important question which he was about to submit to their consideration for the repeal of the grant to Maynooth; he had, therefore, made his election, and had resolved to move for the repeal of the grant. He had been informed by an hon. and learned friend who was decidedly opposed to him, that he had heard there was a sort of conspiracy between himself,

the Ministers of the Crown, and the Romish Archbishop of Dublin, not to go into the investigation of his (Mr. Spooner's) charge of the improper dealing with the evidence, though the professors of Maynooth were very desirous of such investigation, and that he had yielded to the persuasion of the so-called Archbishop. He was surprised the hon. and learned gentleman should have attached any importance to such a rumour. For his own part, all he thought it necessary to say was, that this was the first word he had heard about it, and he gave it a flat contradiction. He would now endeavour, as shortly as he could, as he was not desirous of taking up the time of the House by repeating arguments which had been so often and so fully urged, to state his reasons why he thought the House should consent to repeal this grant. He would first call the attention of the House to the Report of the Commissioners before he proceeded to notice the evidence. A more remarkable document than this Report was never before laid upon the table of that House. The Commissioners, at the outset, state that they thought it to be their duty to make inquiry as to the teaching of Maynooth with respect to matters connected with the interests of the State, and to matters in which the interests of morality were concerned,—some in which temporal, some in which spiritual authority was included, such as allegiance to the Sovereign, the obligation of an oath, and questions of a like nature, together with other questions relative to the confessional. This was a part of the Commissioners' Report. They say—

“On these points we can do little more than place the evidence generally before your Majesty, and leave it to produce its own impression.”

Now the impression on his mind was, that the evidence was contradictory from beginning to end. That the witnesses succeeded in deluding the Commissioners, and so made the investigation a mockery and a sham. He thought it was clearly the duty of the Commissioners to enter fully into the investigation, not seeking only for information from persons in the College, who would be influenced

by what they were taught, and who were bound by their tenets to say nothing injurious to the interests of their Church. He contended that such doubtful, contradictory, and unintelligible evidence ought not to have been laid before Parliament or Her Majesty without comment on the part of the Commissioners. Speaking with regard to the confessional examination, the Commissioners said that—

“It had been proved to be a most dangerous subject, but that it was confined to Maynooth to a short period, and that every security was taken against its abuse.”

Everybody who knew anything of the system of the confessional could say whether it ought to be supported out of the taxes of this country. The Commissioners went on to state—

“That they had no reason to believe from the evidence that it had, practically, any injurious effect on the minds and characters of the students.”

But if hon. members would give themselves the trouble to examine into what is known and published as the practice of the Romish confessional, he felt assured that they would come to the conclusion that it was of necessity “injurious” in its effects to the minds of all that were subjected to its power. In referring to the evidence, further on, he found that the Rev. Mr. O’Hanlon, president of the Dunboyne establishment, denied that “the Pope, or Church, had any temporal power, direct or indirect.” In another part of his evidence the rev. gentleman admitted a distinction between temporal and spiritual affairs, and that some matters were necessarily not purely spiritual nor purely temporal. In answer to another question the witness stated that every vote for a member of Parliament might become a spiritual question, because it might have reference to the commission or avoidance of sin. He also found him stating, and his statement was confirmed by many other parts of the evidence, that he would be warranted in withholding the sacrament of the Church from a man by reason of his preferring one candidate to another, because a priest was bound to withhold the sacrament from

a man who purposed to commit a sin. First, it was said that a vote was a temporal matter, but that it might become a spiritual matter, because it might lead to the commission of sin; and that if the priest believed it would lead to the commission of sin, he was at liberty to withhold the sacrament. He wished to know whether such a doctrine was in unison with the allegiance which they owed to the Sovereign, or whether it was right that a Protestant nation should pay for the teaching of such a doctrine?

The persons examined by the Commissioners were persons whose tenets, if they honestly held the doctrines taught at Maynooth, compelled them to equivocate, if equivocation was for the benefit of their Church. That was proved by the books at Maynooth, and more especially in the works of that celebrated and canonised author, St. Alphonsus de Liguori, and this was a question which the House ought well to consider and closely to examine. One of the persons examined, the Rev. Mr. Burke, had been educated at Maynooth, but, having seen the error of his ways, had become a convert to the Protestant faith. Mr. Burke had been five years at Maynooth, and gave evidence of the open and undisguised disloyalty which he witnessed at Maynooth in 1829. He also stated that he, as a student, was "a rebel of the first water," and that "he had prayed for the destruction of the British Empire merely because it was Protestant." He further stated that the College was a hotbed of sedition; that he entered it a loyal subject, and left it a rebel. The Commissioners had, nevertheless, stated that they had found no evidence of disloyalty or any want of true allegiance to the Sovereign as resulting from the education at Maynooth. Another gentleman, now a clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. Mr. Leary, with whom he had the pleasure of being acquainted, a man of high character, conscientious, upright, and who would not speak other than the truth, stated that he had entered Maynooth in 1830 and had left it in 1837; that the impression kept up among the students was, that the reigning King of this country was a heretic and out of the pale of salvation; that allegiance ought not



to be observed towards him, because the Throne was occupied to the exclusion of Roman Catholics, and that to render allegiance in such a case would be injurious to the eternal welfare of their souls. Such was the impression kept up among the students at Maynooth. This gentleman further stated that the general opinion of the College was, that the Pope had direct power over Kings, inasmuch as the souls of subjects were of more value than their worldly possessions ; that it was expressly laid down in their books that the Pope had direct and supreme authority over all kings, and that the prominent idea among the students was, the universal supremacy of the Pope. They had, nevertheless, been told that no evidence had been produced to lead the Commissioners to believe that anything was taught to weaken allegiance to the Crown, and that everything was carried on at Maynooth in accordance with the principles on which it was founded. He had read the evidence carefully, and his decided opinion was, that the evidence of the professors had been got up purposely to deceive the Commissioners, and that they had deceived them. Other evidence ought to have been taken, and attention ought to have been given to the books used, a list of which had been given by the Rev. Mr. M'Ghee, who ought himself to have been examined before the Commissioners. These books contained the leading doctrines that were taught at every Roman Catholic College. They were formally deposited in the Bodleian and in the libraries of the Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and at Trinity College, Dublin, and certificates had been produced from persons in authority in all these Universities, testifying that the extracts from them in Mr. M'Ghee's work were correct. The Commissioners had not said anything about the monstrous doctrines that were taught in one of these books on the subject of equivocation "for a good cause;" of what was defined as a good cause, and on the subject of confession. He could not venture to describe these books further than to say that they were such as no young person ought to read. Yet the wives and the daughters of the Roman Catholics were bound to submit to the abominable system there

indicated. These were grounds amply sufficient to justify the House in refusing any grant to Maynooth. Upon what ground could the granting of money for the purchase of such works and for the teaching of such doctrines be defended? He would advise hon. members to read the book published by Mr. M'Ghee on this part of the subject. The other day his hon. and learned friend the member for Stamford (Sir F. Thesiger), in the debate on the Oath of Abjuration Bill, had referred to a collection of Bulls made for the use of the Propaganda at Rome. Dr. Paul Cullen had lately published a selection of these, and two of them actually contained a denial of the title of the House of Hanover to the Throne of these realms. It was asserted in those "Bulls" that there were numerous successors to the Pretender to be found among the Roman Catholics on the Continent. The first volume contained an address to George III. on his accession in 1760, and breathed a spirit of affection and loyalty; yet in the previous year, 1759, Clement XIII. had addressed a letter to the Pretender, styling him King of Great Britain, and apologising for not having mentioned His Majesty's name on appointing a person to a see in Ireland, but pledging himself that the omission of the Pretender's name would not injure, or be regarded as any derogation of his right of nomination as King of Great Britain. He inferred from those proceedings in 1759 and 1760, that a system of deception had been carried on, and that while the Roman Catholics were openly professing loyalty and affection to George III., they were, underhand, doing all they could in favour of the Pretender. A selection of these Bulls had been published by "the Pope's Legate" in Ireland—an office and title, he might remark, altogether illegal, and which ought to be taken notice of by the law officers of the Crown. In this selection by Dr. Paul Cullen it was stated, in a letter to Cardinal Franson, that it had been arranged for the use of the College of the Propaganda at Rome, "in order that all might be in readiness that might appertain to the right and expeditious management of affairs." In another part of the letter it was stated that the edition contained for the

first time all the apostolic letters, "the necessity or opportunity of consulting which, may easily occur in the course of managing affairs by the Sacred Council." The first edition was dated 1745—the very year of the last struggle of the Stuarts for the Crown—and the last, 1841. Of the letters in the time of George III., eight were selected for the use of the Propaganda, and of these, two ignored the right of the House of Hanover to the Throne. There could be no doubt that this condensed code of Papal Canon Law had been published at the time in question with the view, if possible, of throwing doubt upon the succession to the Throne. Another point he must refer to. Among the books formerly taught at Maynooth was Bailly's work. In that work a doctrine not over-pleasing to Rome, and quite contrary to the doctrine of Dr. Cullen, was laid down, to the effect that a marriage might be perfectly valid though merely a civil contract, and without being celebrated by the Church of Rome. The result was, that the book was now prohibited, and was no longer taught at Maynooth. Coupling that fact with the documents published ignoring the right of the House of Hanover to the Throne, it was clear that something was in preparation against the Crown and Constitution. They might rest assured that Roman Catholics meditated claiming the right of succession to the Throne of this country for members of their own persuasion. They had told them that they did not mean to be contented with what they sneeringly called Toleration; they aimed at Supremacy, and when they succeeded in this, they would doubtless use their utmost endeavours to uproot the Protestant Succession. They meant to make the attempt, and blind indeed must those persons be who did not perceive that such was their object. While Roman Catholics were making their preparations, the Government of this country were yielding step after step to their demands, and one demand complied with, only led to another. According to the doctrines taught at Maynooth, and the teaching of which was paid for by Protestants, no honest Roman Catholic ought to be content till they put themselves on a par at least with the Protestant Church of this

country. He hoped, however, that the Protestants of this country would always be ready to maintain the Constitution in Church and State which the blood of their ancestors had purchased for them. If they did not resist, if they yielded every demand made upon them, the day would come, though he might not live to see it, when the present Dynasty would be overthrown. He wished to direct the attention of hon. members to the first Commission of Inquiry—ably presided over by the late Sir Frankland Lewis, father of the right hon. gentleman opposite—into the College of Maynooth. They were then compelled to give a list of their books, but such was the conflicting nature of the evidence, that the Commissioners pronounced no opinion on the question, and contented themselves with giving the evidence only. That inquiry, presided over by the right hon. gentleman before named, was far more searching and much more ably conducted than the last inquiry. Then, as he stated, a list of books and some account of the doctrines inculcated were given, but now no list of books had been required or given; and, as to the teaching of the professors, they very coolly told the Commissioners that no account could be given of it, from books, or otherwise. Could anything be more insolent? Would Parliament consent to continue grants for the education of public instructors, when all information as to the doctrines inculcated was thus unjustifiably denied? He alluded to that part of the question in order to point out the system of aggression which had been pursued. The noble lord opposite must be conscious of the dangerous and unconstitutional influence which had been brought to bear on the Government of this country. The noble lord professed not to know it, but they ought to look at the noble lord's acts—to regard their tendency—and to test the character of those on whom the noble lord had conferred appointments. If the noble lord was unconscious of the feeling which had influenced him, he could tell him that the whole country believed that it was fear of certain gentlemen below the gangway that had led him to make an appointment disgraceful to the Government and injurious to the

best interests of the country, against which the whole country cried out, and the effect of which would recoil on those who had so unnecessarily yielded to the pressure of a certain section in that House. He was determined to do everything in his power to put an end to the national support of a system which the Rubric at the end of the office of the Holy Communion of our Church declared to be "idolatry to be abhorred of all Christian men." He quoted the words of our Church. The 31st Article of the Church also declared that the sacrifices of the mass were "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." Yet that was the system which Protestants were called upon to support out of the taxes of this country. If they sanctioned this system they would be disregarding the oaths which they had taken. He would now quote from a public print a paragraph illustrative of the feelings with which the Holy Scriptures were regarded by one of the Maynooth-educated priests. It was from the *Dublin Daily Express* of 29th of November, 1855, and had reference to the Bible burning, for which a prosecution was instituted and failed. The language of the Rev. Mr. M'Evoy, parish priest of Kells, in reference to the transaction was—

"Would you know what is the nature of the charge recently made? It was that of committing to the flames a thing which pretends to be the Bible, but which is a vile and blasphemous perversion and corruption of the Word of God. It was for committing to the flames a volume which if I myself, in the absence of Attorneys-General and Solicitors-General, were going to commit to the flames, I should take it up with a pair of tongs for fear of soiling my fingers, and so with the tongs would I hurl it into the consuming fire."

Such was the language used to a large meeting by one of the Maynooth-educated priests, and for whose education this country had paid. Unless hon. members shook off the influences which had acted upon them of late years, and considered what the priests of the Roman Catholic Church were about at that moment, they would be compelled to relinquish that high position which as Protestants they had occupied for the last century in this country. They would be compelled to sacrifice the bulwarks of their faith and liberty for

which their forefathers had bled. They would be betraying the trust reposed in them, and committing a crime which they never could expiate, if they did not withstand these aggressions and cease to give support to a system which was designed for their overthrow. He had taken the oath of allegiance, and he felt bound by that oath to oppose in the strongest manner the maintenance by the State of such an institution as Maynooth. They required the Sovereign to take an oath to maintain the rights of the Protestant Church as by law established. Was that to be done by calling upon the Sovereign to consent to grants of money to priests who taught such doctrines as those to which he had referred? He could show from the evidence contained in the Appendix to the Report to which he had called the attention of the House, that the Romish priesthood maintained the severest punishment of heresy to be justifiable; and he must contend that if the power of that priesthood were suffered to go on increasing, the security of the Sovereign upon the throne would be imperilled. Anybody who had read the evidence could not fail to perceive that the Church of Rome was at present divided into two sections—the Ultramontane party and the Gallican. Now a great struggle was going on, the object of which was to bring Maynooth within the influence and domination of the doctrines upheld by the former section, and the leaders in that struggle were Dr. Wiseman and Archbishop Cullen. How far the introduction of these doctrines into this country was consistent with its prosperity and in accordance with the maintenance of Sound Protestant Principles, it behoved hon. members before they came to a decision upon his motion that evening carefully to consider. He was sorry to find that a right hon. friend of his (Mr. Walpole), who, from conversations which he had had with him, as well as from statements which he had made outside the walls of that House, seemed to doubt whether the House of Commons was not bound, in consequence of what had taken place in 1845, and in the observance of good faith, to continue the grant to Maynooth—was not in his place that evening. He regretted his right hon. friend's absence, because he was of opinion

that he should have been able to prove to him that there was no good foundation for the supposition that Parliament was pledged to the continuance of the grant in question; and upon that point he was supported by the authority of the late Sir Robert Peel, by whom the measure of 1845 had been introduced and carried through that House, and by that of the noble lord the member for London (J. Russell). Sir Robert Peel, when proposing that measure, had made use of the following words—

“It is, I trust, conceived in the spirit to which I have referred—a liberal and confiding spirit. We have not introduced it without communication with the leading ecclesiastical authorities in the Roman Catholic Church. It has not been a subject of stipulation or contract with them.”—[3 *Hansard*, lxxix. 37.]

Similar was the declaration of the noble lord the member for London; and he (Mr. Spooner) would ask those who possessed an intimate knowledge of Ireland, whether they dared get up and say that the priests educated at Maynooth were not the “leaders of rebellion”—that they were not doing all they could to subvert society and loosen the ties which bound man to man. If the answer to that question was in the affirmative, as it must be, then was Parliament no longer bound to continue the grant;—nay, more, it became their solemn duty to refuse its payment from that moment. He was sure that the priesthood educated at Maynooth were not clear of the charge which the noble lord the member for London supposed possible;—he wished he could be as sure that the Government would, in the true Protestant spirit, throw themselves upon the country with regard to this question. The echo of the country would undoubtedly satisfy them that they need not fear the pressure of gentlemen below the gangway, but might act determinately, as they ought to do, for the preservation of the Constitution in Church and State. He would trouble the House with an extract from an authority which no one on the other side of the House would repudiate. He referred to the historian of the day, who, writing unshackled from party views, had portrayed in vivid colours the results of Popery all over the world, as compared with Protestantism. Mr. Macaulay stated that—

"From the time the barbarians from the north had overrun the Western Empire until the revival of letters, the influence of the Church of Rome had been favourable to science and civilization, but that during the last three centuries its effect had been to stunt the human mind, to sink the most fertile provinces of Europe into a state of barrenness and slavery, and to cast over their inhabitants a species of intellectual torpor; while the influence of Protestantism had tended to turn into gardens, countries proverbial for their sterility, to foster free institutions, and to promote intellectual advancement."

That was the opinion of a man who did not speak from mere impulse, who could not be accused of entertaining feelings hostile to his fellow-subjects upon the score of religion, and who could discern clearly the causes of national greatness or decay. There was, however, another right hon. gentleman to whose writings he might also refer in support of his view of the question before the House—he alluded to his right hon. friend the member for the University of Oxford. In the work of his right hon. friend, entitled, *The State in its Relations with the Church*, occurred the following passages:—

"The support of the College of Maynooth was originally undertaken by the Protestant Parliament of Ireland in the anticipation, which has since proved miserably fallacious, that a more loyal class of priests would be produced by a home education than by a foreign one, and that a gradual mitigation in the features of Irish Romanism would be produced when her Ministers were no longer familiarised with its condition in continental countries where it remains the religion of the State. Instead of which, it has been found that the facility for education at home has opened the priesthood to a lower and less cultivated class, and one more liable to the influence of secondary motives. It can hardly be denied that this is a well-merited disappointment. If the State gives anything of pecuniary support, it should in consistency give everything. Unless it is bound in conscience to maintain the national Church as God's appointed vehicle of religious truth, it should adopt as its rule the numbers and the needs of the several classes of religionists; and in either aspect the claim of the Roman Catholics is infinitely the strongest. In amount this grant is niggardly and unworthy."

["Hear, hear," *from the Roman Catholic members.*] Hon. members should not cheer so soon.



"In principle it is wholly vicious, and it will be a thorn in the side of the State of these countries so long as it is continued."

[Hear, hear.] In these days of limited and unlimited liability, it was not, perhaps, to be wondered at that the right hon. gentleman opposite should indulge in an unlimited amount of repose. [*Loud laughter.*] [The hon. gentleman alluded to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was slumbering upon the Ministerial benches, utterly unconscious of how the discussion was proceeding.] But he should beg to call the right hon. gentleman's attention to the extract which he was quoting. It proceeded as follows:—

"When foreigners express their astonishment at finding that we support in Ireland the Church of a small minority, we may tell them that we support it on the high ground of conscientious necessity for its truth, but how should we blush at the same time to support an institution whose avowed and legitimate purpose it is constantly to denounce that truth as falsehood! If, indeed, our faith be pledged to the College, by all means let us acquit ourselves of the obligation; but it is monstrous that we should be the voluntary feeders of an establishment which exhibits at once our jealous parsimony, our lax principles, and our erroneous calculations."

Now, he would ask with confidence, whether events had not proved the views of his right hon. friend the member for the University of Oxford to be correct, and whether the influence of the Irish priesthood had not been used in a manner which clearly showed the calculations of the authors of the measure of 1845 to be erroneous? In making those remarks it must be borne in mind that his observations were founded on the accounts of what took place in Ireland, and not upon the conduct of the Roman Catholic gentry in this country. They, indeed, were a different class from some of their brethren on the other side of the Channel; and, being well acquainted with many of them, he could state that they strongly disapproved in many instances of the acts of the Irish priesthood. There were in Ireland, too, he was informed, gentlemen of the Roman Catholic persuasion who entertained similar feelings, and equally condemned the conduct of the priests. To endeavour to

conciliate the priesthood of that country, men whose principles—if, indeed, they had any principles—would not permit them to be conciliated, was too vain and futile. He would tell the noble lord at the head of the Government to his face that an insult had been offered to the Protestant gentry of Ireland by circumstances which had lately taken place; and he trusted the noble lord, instead of yielding to the influence of hon. members below the gangway, would boldly announce his resolve to stand by true Protestant principles, and to uphold unimpaired our Protestant Constitution. If the noble lord were to take that course, then would he have the voice of the country in his favour, and seize the opportunity of becoming one of the most popular of English statesmen. For his own part, in dealing with the question of Maynooth as he had done, he had simply acted in accordance with his honest convictions; and although he might not obtain that support from some of those hon. members sitting on the benches behind him which he was entitled to expect, yet to those convictions he must, until he saw good reason to abandon them, continue to adhere. The existence of party he deemed to be essential to the attainment of important objects, and he should therefore support his party so far as he could do so without forfeiting principle; but so long as he had the honour of holding a seat in that House, he should, laying aside all party considerations, never cease to raise his voice against that system of submission to Popery which he believed to be unworthy of the State and injurious to the best interests of the nation. He had no ambition to gratify in pursuing this great question. His age limited his ambition; and his only object was, to perform his bounden duty to himself, his country, and his God. The hon. member concluded by submitting his Motion to the House.



## THE MORAL TEACHING AT MAYNOOTH,

AS BEARING UPON THE COURTS OF LAW AND EVIDENCE THEREIN ;  
AS RELATING TO TRUTH AND HONESTY ; AND AS AFFECTING  
THE OATH OF THE SOVEREIGN, THE PROTESTANT SUCCESSION  
TO THE THRONE, AND THE ALLEGIANCE AND LIBERTY OF THE  
SUBJECT,—DEMONSTRATED, WITH AUTHENTIC QUOTATIONS.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

May 21st, 1857.

MR. SPOONER rose, and presented fifty petitions, from Glasgow, the General Assembly of Scotland, Greenock, and Edinburgh, the latter petition being signed by 900 merchants and others of that city, praying for the abolition of the grant to the College of Maynooth.

MR. C. BRUCE, MR. BENTINCK, and MR. COWAN, presented petitions containing a similar prayer.

MR. SPOONER again rose and said—I crave the kind indulgence of the House whilst I endeavour, to the best of my ability, to state the reasons which induce me to ask it to go into Committee on the Acts for the endowment of Maynooth, with a view to their repeal.

But first, Sir, I would assure those hon. gentlemen who are of the Roman Catholic faith, that I have no ground of quarrel with them at all. I attack no individual opinion ; I respect individual opinion ; and as a Protestant I would do all I could to assist the right and maintain the privilege of private judgment. I believe

that many Roman Catholics, both in this House and out of it, and with whom I am on terms of intimacy, give me full credit for the sincerity with which I now declare that I am actuated by no individual dislike to Roman Catholics themselves; that I am actuated by no wish to curtail their privileges, or dictate to them what religion they shall follow, or in any way whatever to interfere with the full and free exercise of religious opinions, which every man has a right to exercise and maintain, within due bounds of law and morality.

Having said thus much, I must request the House to believe that I have no *personal* motive to serve in bringing this subject forward. I have no ambitious purpose to satisfy. I can safely say, that it is a very painful task which I have undertaken, and that an imperative sense of duty alone compels me to undertake it. I do not pretend to hide from the House that there are several hon. friends with whom I am in the habit of acting, as well as those with whom I do not act, who would be much better pleased if I had not brought this motion forward. I can assure them that nothing but the conviction that I should have otherwise deserted a most bounden duty compels me to bring forward a subject without the cordial support of those with whom I generally act. But I will not, I cannot, sacrifice what I believe to be my duty, even that I may receive cheers such as I have just heard. And I wish here to allude to another point.

I have been accused, and in no very courteous terms, by the hon. member for Sheffield (Mr. Roebuck), whom I do not now see in his place, of venturing to lay down my own opinion as the test of truth to be followed by others. I may refer to the language used by the hon. and learned member, as, although it was uttered in February last, it has passed into the records of Parliament. I am anxious to notice this accusation now, as at the termination of the last debate on this subject, I had not an opportunity of doing so.

The hon. and learned gentleman not only accused me of venturing to lay down my own opinion as the rule for others, but he said

that I was bigoted to my own opinions ; and he asked me, rather sneeringly, what I supposed there was, either in my intellect or position, justifying me in setting myself up as a dictator as to truth.

The hon. and learned member mistook my argument. I then expressed no mere opinion of my own. I did not ground my accusation against the College of Maynooth on any of my own opinions ; I grounded them on the Articles and Rubric of the Church of England, of which he professes to be a member. I certainly have used no arguments whatever except those founded on the principles of the Church of England, and on the Oath taken by the Sovereign. That was the ground which I took then, and which I intend to take now. But knowing that hon. members may get up and make assertions to which I should not have an opportunity of adverting in reply, and to which the House might not be in a temper to listen, I will proceed to anticipate some of the objections with which I may be met on the present occasion.

The object I have in view in bringing this matter before the House, is to show that Parliament is at the present moment paying for the teaching of doctrines hostile to the Protestant Constitution—hostile to the principles of civil and religious liberty—destructive of true morality—and completely antagonistic to the doctrines of the Established Church, and which we are sworn by the oath of allegiance to enable her, to the best of our power, to maintain. It is perfectly unjust that we should be called upon to pay for the teaching of doctrines antagonistic to that Church which the Sovereign is bound by her solemn oath to uphold.

What is it, Sir, that the Sovereign is bound to maintain ? I will read shortly the 31st Article on “The Sacrifice of Masses.” [“Oh,” *from the Ministerial benches.*] I do not know what the exclamation means. Do hon. members mean to say that this does not form a legitimate ground of argument ? Do they mean to say that if the Church lays down a certain doctrine we are to pay Roman Catholic Priests for teaching a perfectly antagonistic doctrine ?

The Article of the Church is this—

"The Sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and dead to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."

The doctrine of the Mass is clearly upheld and supported in the College of Maynooth; Parliament, therefore, by supporting that College, is aiding to teach "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits." What says the Rubric of the Church? Many of my opponents are known as mighty sticklers for the Rubric. It declares (after the Communion Service)—"The sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances, therefore may not be adored (for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians)." By the missal or prayer-book of Roman Catholics they are taught to adore the bread and wine, and they are therefore doing that which the Rubric declares is "idolatry to be abhorred of all true Christians." I ask those who support our Rubric how they can contribute to that "idolatry?" That, Sir, is the first ground on which I hold the justice of repealing this grant. Three times has this House declared by a majority in favour of my proposition.

MR. F. FRENCH.—In the last Parliament?

MR. SPOONER.—Certainly, in the last Parliament; and I hope that that which the last Parliament deliberately considered, if it did not determine, will have some weight and influence on those hon. gentlemen who form the present Parliament; for not any-one of the charges I brought forward was disproved, not a single quotation I used received a contradiction. They were all assented to, and were even confirmed by the evidence taken before the Commission of Inquiry, in 1855. And what, Sir, is the oath of the Sovereign? Some hon. members may not know how solemn an oath it is. The Sovereign is asked, "Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion, as established by law?" To which the Sovereign's answer was, "All these I solemnly swear to maintain." That is the form of oath; and I ask whether it is consistent

in a House of Commons representing a great Nation, to require from the Sovereign a solemn oath, and then ask the consent of the Crown to money grants in order to bring up and educate a priesthood in the College of Maynooth, who are to teach the people the exact contrary of that oath—to teach, also, that it is a duty to put down the Established Church, and that all who belong to the Established Church, and others who are true Protestants, are *heretics*, and ought to be punished? I repeat, that the oath taken by the Sovereign is inconsistent with the teaching of Maynooth.

The next point is the supposed “Parliamentary compact.” A great many hon. members, for whom I entertain a high respect, who totally disagree with the teaching and doctrines held at Maynooth, would be glad to see the College done away with, but consider themselves to be met with the difficulty of the Parliamentary compact. Where is that compact? Up to 1845, no one can maintain that there was one. I do not think, moreover, that by any construction could any compact be inferred from the Articles of the Union. Those articles alluded to certain medical and other charities, and limited the extension of assistance to twenty years. I very much question if Maynooth could properly be included at all under the category. But I will give you that point. It was an annual grant, continually subject to the will of Parliament, and was not at first meant for the education of Priests only, but to help the Roman Catholics to build and support a College, in order to prevent the foreign education of their priests, so that these persons might be brought up in their own way in Ireland. This, by the way, I would observe, was a great mistake.

Any departure from sound principle for the sake of expediency, no matter how plausible the arguments in favour of such a course, was always sure to end badly, and the nation was sure to suffer the consequences of wrong-doing. In this instance, however, no compact could be said to exist, when it was every year within the power of Parliament to say “Aye” or “No” as to the continuance of the grant. But then, it was said the compact began in 1845.



Well, if it were contended that an Act of Parliament conferred a Parliamentary title, and that this title could in no shape or way be altered, all I can say is, that those hon. gentlemen who voted the other night with the hon. member for Cork, to abolish "Minister's Money," by no means recognised such a principle. And the compact as regards Minister's Money, was a much stronger one than any agreement on the subject of Maynooth; for the former was a grant made in order to induce Protestant settlers to go over to Ireland, and to maintain their religion in that country; it was a grant in return *for a consideration*, and, as such, was a very different thing from a free gift. But what said Sir Robert Peel upon this question of compact? These were his words, in 1845:—

"It is, I trust, conceived in a liberal and confiding spirit. We have not introduced it without a communication with the leading members of the Roman Catholic Church, but *it has not been a subject of stipulation or of contract with them.*"

These were the motives which influenced the statesman who induced Parliament to pass the measure of 1845, and who said distinctly, that it was a free gift, made without any sort of stipulation or compact. I will quote another authority on this point—that of the noble lord the member for the city of London, who said—

"I don't mean to argue the question of compact; but if you found that there was ground sufficient to refuse the grant,.....then I can see no valid reason why any compact should restrain you from so doing."

This, I think, disposes of the argument that a compact existed, I should be the last to countenance any breach of faith; but as I understand them, the Roman Catholic members in this House did not rest their case upon any such ground.

I now come to the question of the public code of Social Morals taught at Maynooth; and I beg the hon. members to listen, for I shall show that those morals were not taken merely from old musty books, seldom lifted from the shelves, but were contained in new

publications, recognised by the highest possible authority. What said Scavini upon social morals? I must first, however, tell you who Scavini is. He is, I believe, a *living* authority. The work quoted was—*Theologia Moralis, Universa Pio IX., Pontifici Maximo, dicata* (Paris, 1853). And the present Pope had condescended to write a commendatory letter to Scavini himself, extolling his work; and especially so, because he so closely followed “the salutary doctrines of the most holy and most learned Alphonsus Maria Liguori.” Now, that is no “musty volume.” The works of this writer are introduced to supersede those of Bailly, and are at present made use of by the students at Maynooth.

In vol. ii., page 234, this passage occurs:—

“What are we to think as to a fictitious promissory oath?

“*Ans.*—Anything may be fictitiously promised in three ways: either, first, without the mind to *swear*; or, secondly, without the mind to be *bound*; or, thirdly, without the mind to *fulfil*.”

Scavini then lays down that he who evades the truth in the first manner, sins, and he refers to a proposition of this kind, condemned by Innocent IX; but then he says, that “all the Doctors teach that he sins only venially.” He then adds—

“He who promises any thing with an oath, without the *mind* of being *bound* by his oath, the Doctors commonly teach, sins grievously, since it appears to be a grave irreverence to call God to witness, and to be unwilling to be bound by His testimony. BUT *there are* who teach *this* to be only a *venial* sin, and that indeed very probably, for without the *intention* of binding himself, there is no oath, and therefore he cannot violate the oath; and therefore, there has only been a vain use of the name of God.”

And in a note at the foot of page 235, Scavini adds—

“Indeed, this is more probable, because, in swearing, he is not bound to observe his oath, as well because from his words it is invalid, as also because God did not accept his promissory oath except according to the *intention* of the person swearing.”

Can we wonder, then, that juries give improper verdicts, or refuse to find any verdicts at all, when we ourselves pay Priests to teach

the doctrine that a man might call God to witness and be guilty of no sin if he broke his oath, having at the time a secret *Intention* in his mind not to keep it? I beg hon. members to lay aside their prejudices, for I am sure if they would do so, and would exercise their independent judgment on this question, they would not be prepared to follow the noble viscount, who is now in the ascendant, into the commission of so vile a sin as the active sanctioning of these doctrines.

But now for a little more of Scavini, the Pope's special divine. He deals largely in quotations from that great saint and high authority, Liguori,\* book iii., No. 172, &c. ; and who states, in that book at No. 151, that to

".....swear with equivocation when there is a just cause, and equivocation itself is lawful, is not a bad thing; but if truly it be done without a just cause it is not necessarily perjury, since according to one sense of the word, or according to his *mental reservation*, he might swear to what was true; yet such swearing would be of its own nature a mortal sin against religion."

All depended, evidently, upon what was a *just* cause; and Liguori very distinctly explained what was a "just cause," his answer being, "any honest end for the preservation of good things for the spirit, or useful things for the body." That was a "just cause" which authorised false swearing, and made the breaking of an oath no sin against religion, and in no way punishable!

Liguori proceeds to inquire—

"Whether it is a mortal sin to swear with amphibology, or not purely mental restriction, and *without* a just cause?"

He then quotes Sanches, &c., who say it is *not mortal*.

"The reason of this more probable opinion is, that in such an oath already truth and justice are present, and only judgment and discretion are wanting, which defect is only a venial sin. Neither does what Viva says oppose this view, namely, that a person swearing in such a manner invokes God to witness a falsehood, for in very deed he invokes God to witness what is true, according to his own sense, though he allows, for a just cause, another person, through his own carelessness or inadvertence, to be deceived."—[See Appendix A.]

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\* The work is "Theologia Moralis," Turin, 1846, 8vo.

Will honourable members suffer such a system to continue? Will they make themselves partakers in that iniquity by contributing money to propagate such doctrine among the excitable people of Ireland or elsewhere? I trust that they will not look upon this as a trifling matter, or as a party question. I have no party views in the affair, as is perfectly clear from the state of the benches on this side of the House. But although this is no party subject, and although I have been opposed by a powerful Ministry on one side, and by a dead and defunct Ministry, hoping to be resuscitated, on the other side, I have thrice, in the last Parliament, obtained the vote of the majority of the House in favour of my proposition. There must therefore, I contend, be something of vital importance in the question, which appeals to the feelings of independent men, when in spite of these adverse circumstances I could succeed in obtaining such a result as I have adverted to. I appeal to this Christian assembly whether this is a system which this great Protestant nation should continue to uphold, whether it is a system which ought longer to enjoy the countenance of Parliament and the support of Ministers? I am satisfied that if you will lay aside your prejudices and view the question as unconnected with politics, there is not one of you who would endeavour to justify such a system. And yet the Sovereign of this country is actually coerced into sanctioning the teaching of these abominable doctrines. The consequences of such a system are not yet half developed. There is something looming in the future to which I will yet call the noble viscount's earnest attention; for I believe that it will be realised in a way which is little imagined.

Now, let hon. members understand what are the notions of Scavini with respect to family morals, and let them say if they would like the following doctrine to be acted upon by their clerks and servants :—

“ You ask whether it may be permitted to servants, that they should secretly compensate themselves from the master's goods, upon pretence that their masters have not given them sufficient?

*Ans.*—I say, generally speaking, they are not (quoting a proposition condemned by Pope Innocent XI.); but we say *generally* speaking, for the Salamanca Doctors teach two things relating to this opinion of Pope Innocent; .....one, that the pontifical decree was not meant to bind servants contrary to justice."

Then, in a note—

"Hence, if a servant be compelled by necessity to agree for a small sum (insufficient price), he may compensate himself up to the lowest price (paid to other servants).

"A second teaching of the Salamanca school is, that if a servant, of his own choice, augments his work, he can make himself no amends.....; but if he adds to his stipulated work by the expressed or tacit consent of his master, compensation will be due, for the labourer is worthy of his reward."

Then, in a note, he continues—

"But you say, is every one to judge for himself as to the justice or injustice of his stipend as compared with other servants similarly employed? The Salamancas hold that of himself the servant himself may so judge, and according to his own conscience compensate himself for his work. And this appears to us (Scavini) sufficiently probable, provided the servant be prudent, modest, judicious, correct, &c., which rarely happens."

Then he refers to Liguori on the subject, book iii., No. 522. Liguori says (521, n. 2)—

"Compensation should be regularly sought by an appeal to law; but to omit this is only a venial sin,—nay, it is *no* sin (citing authorities) if hostilities, expenses, and other similar evils are dreaded."

Let the House remember that Professor Furlong, of Maynooth (second part of Report, 1855, p. 91), and Professor Neville (p. 51), both mention Liguori as an authority at Maynooth.

Is this the morality for the teaching of which, among ignorant classes completely subject to the priesthood, any Christian assembly ought to pay? And this, let it be remarked, is in no ancient book, but in one recently introduced.—[See Appendix B.]

I have almost done with quotations on this point. I could yet furnish an abundance more of them, but I give what I have submitted

to the House as samples only, and any hon. gentleman who would take half as much pains in examining these books as I and a friend of mine who assisted me in the translations have done, will soon see that the samples—fair, and not garbled—which I have adduced, form but a very small portion of the large mass of this most abominable teaching which is carried on.

Well, we now come to the *Power of the Pope*, and first of all I will quote the evidence of the Rev. James O'Kane, the junior dean of Maynooth, as given before the Commission. He is asked—

“*Question* (241).—Have you reason to suppose that the students are in the habit of reading books.....conflicting with that doctrine? (of the Pope having no temporal or deposing power.)

“*Answer*.—I have no reason to suppose that they do so, except controversial works, as Bellarmine, for instance; of course they are in the habit of reading these.”

Now, I remember the noble lord at the head of the Government reminded us upon a former occasion, that in our classical studies we used necessarily to read many things that were objectionable, and so he would have us excuse the peculiar teachings of Maynooth. But mark, these abominable doctrines are not casually put forward, but they come before the students in their works on controversy, which all must read and study. The works of Bellarmine are not read for their language merely. Bellarmine, as my hon. friend the member for Dundalk (Mr. Bowyer) knows, is a great authority with his Church, and was the champion of Rome at the time of the Reformation. Now, what does he say as to the power of the Pope?

“The Pope, as Pope, cannot ordinarily establish civil laws, or annul them, but he can do all this in the case where a civil law is necessary to the salvation of souls, and Kings are not willing to make such a law; or where other laws are established hurtful to the salvation of souls, and Kings are unwilling to repeal them.”—[*Bellarmino De Rom. Pont.*, lib. vi., cap. 6; Venice, 1599.]

But, it may be said, what care we about such doctrines, they can have no effect here? Now, I tell you that they *have* effect here, and that you are suffering men to go about with all the authority which

their Church gives them, propagating this amongst an ignorant and superstitious people. This is a doctrine which is taught at Maynooth, at the expense of the people of this country, and I would warn you that the time may come when you may be told, "You cannot complain of the deposition of your Sovereign, because you have paid for teaching that power of deposition is inherent in the Pope."

I am sorry to say these doctrines are but little known amongst Protestants as being taught at their expense; if they were, my task would be comparatively easy. I will, therefore, continue my extracts; and here is what Bellarmine says as to the power of the Pope over Princes:—

"Ordinarily the Pope, as Pope, cannot depose Princes, &c., but he can change (the rulers of) kingdoms—can take a kingdom from one king and give it to another, as the chief spiritual prince, if it be necessary to the salvation of souls. Where the matter of law endangers the salvation of souls, the Imperial law may be abrogated by the Papal law."—[*Bell.*, tom. i., p. 889.]

Well, will you subscribe to that doctrine? And yet, remember that you are paying for its inculcation. You find fault occasionally with the people for obeying the teaching of the Priests, but you have no right to do so, for it is you who pay the Priests who teach them. Now a word as to what may be termed a "just cause." Bellarmine continues—

"It is not lawful to Christians to tolerate an infidel or heretical King, if he endeavours to draw away his subjects to his own heresy or infidelity; but it belongs to the Pope to judge as to this, to whom is committed the care of Religion. Therefore, it also belongs to the Pope to judge whether the Sovereign is to be deposed or not.....And if such princes attempt to turn their people from the faith, they may, by the consent of all, and ought to be deprived of their dominion."

Now, let us not forget that our Sovereign is, in their view, a heretic. By-and-bye, no doubt, we shall hear something about "*material*" heresies and "*formal*," and other nice Jesuitical quibbles, but be that as it may, we are told plainly enough what

are the consequences of endeavouring to pervert the subjects of this realm to "heresy." Now surely the noble lord will allow that the time has come for putting a stop to the propagation of such doctrines.

The majority of us are all heretics in Rome's esteem ; and if we have not as yet been punished, it is because we are powerful. Prudence in dealing with the strong and powerful is enjoined by Rome on her agents ; but where they are merely confronted by the weak and powerless, energy and dispatch are to be the rule. The Pope, according to the doctrines here disclosed, may cause one of his vassals to send over an army to assist the Roman Catholics of this country in a struggle against the authority of the Crown. Again ; here is further evidence as to the power of the Pope, according to the teaching at Maynooth. Dr. Moriarty, a gentleman well known, then president of All Hallows College, Drumcondra, is asked—

"Are there no circumstances under which the Pope could release a citizen from his oath of allegiance?—Most emphatically I say, none. *But* as our greatest constitutional lawyers, and, as I think, our best theologians, hold that there are cases when the allegiance of the subject ceases, and when the Government of a country may be justly overthrown, I consider that the Pope is the fittest authority to decide in many cases whether such circumstances have arisen."

The Pope, therefore, was to have the power of deciding whether any differences of opinion which might arise between a Sovereign and his people, justified his subjects in violating their allegiance. Dr. Moriarty further said—

"In many cases he (the Pope) could not decide, and I firmly believe that, in such cases, he would not undertake to do so. In no case can he cause the allegiance of a subject to cease, his power in such a matter being *simply declaratory*, not enabling."

The examination of Dr. Moriarty proceeds :—

"But he (the Pope) would have removed the obligation from the conscience?  
*Answer.*—He would declare it *removed* by circumstances.



"But it would have the *effect* of removing the obligation from the conscience, would it not? *Answer*.—No; he merely decides and declares that it is removed, and thus he may enlighten a conscience which was in error, which erroneously judged itself under an obligation that had *ceased* to exist.

"With whom does the responsibility rest? Is the responsibility of disobeying removed from the party by virtue of the opinion expressed by the superior authority? *Answer*.—Were we to consult the Holy See upon our allegiance or obedience to our temporal Sovereign, and that an answer were given us, it ought to satisfy the consciences of Catholics, considering the maturity with which the Holy See proceeds, and considering, also, that we know it to be an authority *divinely* appointed and *divinely* assisted for our guidance in the way of salvation, and, consequently, in the path of duty.

"Does not that leave the question of the allegiance of all the subjects of the world to their several Sovereigns entirely dependent upon the opinions that may be pronounced by the Pope from time to time?"

And now to see how this Jesuit evades the question:—

"I think it would be well for the Sovereigns and the subjects of the world, that the matter were left to the Pope; but it seems to me that this opinion leaves allegiance no more dependent on the Pope, than Protestant theology leaves it dependent on individual conscience."

True, yet the decision or consultation of individuals in a nation, all responsible for their decision, is one thing; but the dogmas of a *foreign* Prince thus interfering in our concerns is another thing—is intolerable. The question is, who rules the Roman Catholics here, the Pope or the Queen?

Yet, with these answers before them, the Commissioners came to the notable resolution, that they did not find from the evidence, that the Roman Catholic doctrines had a tendency to destroy or weaken the allegiance of subjects to the Crown!

### TEACHING AS TO MARRIAGE.

There is another very important question, and there is a great deal more in it than appears at first sight to a superficial observer—that is, the question of teaching with respect to Marriage. This is the doctrine which Scavini laid down on that subject (vol. iv., p. 478).

In those places where the Council of Trent is published—which applied to Ireland, for it was published there—"every marriage entered into otherwise than in the presence of a Priest"—a Romish Priest being meant, of course—"and two or three witnesses, is null and void." As see the words of the Council, in its Decree, Session 24, cap. 1 :—

"Those who shall attempt to contract marriage otherwise (than as above), them doth the Holy Synod render incapable of thus contracting, and declares such contracts void and null."

The House is, therefore, in point of fact, sanctioning the expenditure of the public money in teaching that the Queen is illegitimate, for, according to the doctrine there laid down and inculcated by the Romish Church, her parents were not married, and it follows, also, that she herself is not married, in a valid sense. It is important to bear in mind, that Parliament is now paying for the dissemination of that doctrine, the danger of which cannot be overrated, should any contest ever arise about the succession to the throne. Again, according to Dr. O'Hanlon, Bailly held a different doctrine from that of Scavini, and one very distasteful to the Pope of Rome—namely, the separability of the *contract* of marriage from the sacrament; but Bailly's book, in which that doctrine was laid down, is now prohibited from being taught at Maynooth, while that of Scavini, who inculcated an opposite one, is allowed; so that the result is, that the Pope, "as Pope," has formally laid down, at Maynooth, the maxim, that no marriage amongst Christians can be valid, unless it is celebrated as a sacrament. Here, again, the doctrine, which Parliament pays for teaching, is, that the marriage of our Most Gracious Sovereign is not a valid marriage, and, therefore, according to the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, all the consequences must attach to it, that result from a marriage that is not valid.

The time may come—God grant it may not—when disputes might arise in reference to the Act of Settlement of William III.; for I may remind the House that Mr. Burke, the well known writer

on the Peerage, &c., in his *Royal Families of England, Scotland, and Wales*, vol. ii., p. 27, demonstrates that though there are no descendants of James II., there are descendants in the female line of Charles I. Once establish that fact, and once admit the truth of the doctrines on marriage now taught at Maynooth, and such descendants of Charles I. will no longer be *hors de combat* as respects any pretensions they may have to the throne of this realm. The present Duke of Modena, Francis V., is a nearer claimant of the throne than Her Most Gracious Majesty, barring the Act of Settlement of William III., and her Protestant oath; I therefore warn the House how they continue to sanction such dangerous delusions.\*

On the same subject of Marriage, the Rev. H. Neville, a Maynooth Professor, states (p. 407, part ii.), in answer to the question—

“Is it taught at Maynooth, that a man who enters into a marriage contract, which is *valid* by the law of the land, but *invalid* by the law of the Roman Catholic Church, may, on that account, abandon the woman, and contract marriage with another woman?” *Answer*.—“The man in the case proposed is free to abandon the woman, and contract marriage with another, as far as any obligation from the *ecclesiastical* contract is concerned.”

And we know that whatever be the civil “inconveniences,” the ecclesiastical effects are paramount with Romanists.

I now come to another point, touching the light in which

### HERETICS AND SCHISMATICS

are viewed by the Romish Church.

Every member of this House who is not a member of the Romish Church, is, in the estimation of that Church, a heretic; and subject to the denunciations laid down in the book from which I am quoting. This celebrated author, *Devoti*, takes great pains to show that none are to be tolerated who dissent from that Church. Let the friends of civil and religious liberty bear this in mind.

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\* The Duke, at the time of this edition (1861), is quite at liberty to take any vacant Throne that may offer.—*Ed.*

Give that Church the power, and it will soon be seen what are its notions of civil and religious liberty. In the College of Maynooth, the doctrine that heretics and schismatics are to be punished is now taught ; and Parliament itself is sanctioning the expenditure of public money in teaching that doctrine. I contend, therefore, that the time has come when Parliament ought to tell the Roman Catholic Priesthood, that if they continue to teach such doctrines to the people of their communion they will do it at their own cost, and their own risk and responsibility.

Devoti, in this *Institutionum Canonicarum*, lays down the most intolerant doctrines.

This book has been adopted by the College, and is returned in the Report of Evidence, 1826 ; and has lately been put forth in a new edition—the one now quoted. As regards the punishment of heretics, the author of this work says (vol. ii., p. 259)—

“ Many punishments are appointed for the heretics in both the civil and ecclesiastical laws. By the civil laws are decreed infamy and the prohibition to devise property or receive any donation of property. Especially their goods are confiscated and their money, and similar punishments are inflicted. Moreover the Roman law punishes certain heretics with death.”—Vol. ii., pp. 264 and 271, “To schismatics who separate from the universal Church the same punishments are awarded as to heretics.....None are to be tolerated who dissent from the truth. ....But the prince placed over the civil state ought to coerce, and with punishments to expel the enemies of the Catholic religion..... Wherefore when any one is adjudged by the Church to be an enemy of true religion, the prince should endeavour by all means to remove the moral contagion by which the whole State may be corrupted.....But if the fear of great evil and danger should not allow him (the prince) to expel heretics and the like, from the city or State,” then the law of *necessity* must be obeyed. Then heretics must remain in the city or State, if they cannot be expelled.

The doctrine is, that all who are baptized are subject to the Romish Church—that there is truly but this one Church, and consequently, the very moment that we separate from that Church we become heretics, and are subject to the denunciations above laid down. We, having dissented from the doctrines of the Romish Church, are not to be tolerated—we must suffer the pains and

penalties of heretics. Give the Church of Rome but that power which she is every day aiming at, and you will soon see, to your cost, what her notions of civil and religious liberty are. And recollect that, by endowing this College, you are, in effect, teaching those doctrines respecting heretics and schismatics to which I have just referred. These are books which, with your money, you are contributing to teach. And yet you assume the character of defenders and supporters of civil and religious liberty. [*A laugh.*] Some hon. members may attempt to ridicule these facts; but it ought to be made the subject of serious reflection by the members of the Government, who are participators in the sin arising from the teaching of doctrines which are subversive of all order and propriety, and of the civil and religious liberties of this country.

Bellarmino also teaches as to the extirpation of heretics:—

“When, therefore, our Lord prohibits us to extirpate all the wicked, he does not prohibit that individuals should be slain. If, indeed, it can be done, they (heretics) ought undoubtedly to be extirpated; but if they are stronger than we, and there is danger if we attack them in war that more of us would fall than of them, *then we are to keep quiet.*”—*De Laicis*, chap. 22. [Appendix C.]

Here, then, are books whose doctrines you help to spread all over the country; justify this if you can!

There is a document actually before the House, to which I wish to call the noble lord's attention. It is a document in the shape of a petition—not from any Protestant individual or body, but from a Roman Catholic gentleman. I do not mean to express any opinion whatever as to whether the statements made in it are true or not. That is a question which is yet to be tried. But observe the way in which the Priests exercised their power at the last election, as described by this Roman Catholic gentleman. This, Sir, is a petition from Colonel Higgins, who was a member of this House in the last Parliament. I did not myself know that gentleman intimately, but I always heard him spoken of as a man of great veracity, of highly honourable principle. Well, here are the allegations of Colonel Higgins, as set forth in this petition. He says:—

"The Roman Catholic Clergy of the county of Mayo, previous to and during the late election, convened large meetings, at which, and in their chapels, they openly denounced your petitioner, and made the people believe that the electors and others would be advancing the glory of God, and saving their own souls from eternal damnation, and bringing blessings on their own families, by voting for the present sitting member for the county.....The said Roman Catholic clergy openly invoked the curses of the Almighty on all who should refuse to vote for the said sitting member, and stated that the souls of those who voted against the sitting member, or who declined to vote for him, would be consigned to eternal punishment hereafter; and that the said priests had acted at the election as tally agents."

Now, recollect, that these are the statements of a Roman Catholic gentleman, and who states that he is ready upon oath to produce witnesses to prove his statements.

Now, what does Professor O'Hanlon say, in effect, in his evidence, upon this subject of the interference of Priests at elections? He says, "Oh, no, the Priests have no right to interfere at elections"—then comes the "but"—"but the vote may be one that may occasion sin, and therefore, although they have no right to interfere with the right of voting, yet if the vote occasion sin, they have a right to refuse to the sinning voter all the rites and sacraments of his Church." Now I ask you, can you believe that the Priests educated by such men as O'Hanlon, who go out amongst the voters, and who tell them that these are the doctrines of Maynooth, which England maintains with her money—which the Crown and Parliament sanctioned—can you, I say, doubt that the voters will assent to them, and will implicitly believe what their Priests tell them?

There is a gentleman who, by the negligence and non-performance of his duty by the Attorney-General, assumes to himself a title which is directly contrary to the intentions of the law that was passed to prevent such pretensions. This gentleman assumes to himself the forbidden title of "Bishop of Liverpool." The following appears in a newspaper called the *Tablet*, which, I believe, is a special organ of the Roman Catholics of this country:—

"DIOCESE OF LIVERPOOL, May 9, 1857.—LAYING THE FOUNDATION-STONE OF ST. PETER'S NEW CHURCH, AT LANCASTER.—Referring to the maintenance of their civil privileges, the Bishop said, 'They must prove their rights, by standing up for them. The day had gone by when Catholics should bow their heads and live; but they must claim their rights, and have them. [*Loud cheers from the Ministerial side of the House.*] He considered that either Bishops or Priests degraded their position, when they appeared at the hustings, but when they had the right of voting *he hoped they would always be found at the head of their people.* [And here, in the petition of Colonel Higgins, the House may see how they '*head* their people.'] For 300 years they had been taken as they were described to be, but now they were beginning to be seen as they really were, and were found to be not quite so bad as they were represented.'"

Rather, are they not much worse?

Now these observations of the Bishop remind me of the old story of a father's advice to his son, "Get money honestly if you can; but, if not honestly, get money at all events." The Bishop advises them to stand up for their rights, and they should get them. [*Cries of "Hear, hear."*] Oh, these cheers of hon. members will be well understood—the public will understand them. I say to the Romanists, "You shall have your rights as loyal subjects, but you shall not have that domination you are contending for. You shall never be allowed to make your Church the dominant Church in the land." I have heard it said over and over again—and I was cheered when I challenged the fact—that you would never be content with what you were pleased to sneer at—*toleration.* [*Ironical cheers from the Roman Catholic members.*] No! it is quite evident that your party will never be content until they have placed themselves at least on a level with the Established Church; and that only as a step to supplanting her entirely. That Church, however, calls upon the Sovereign to take care that you shall not stand on a level with it; nor supplant the Church. For every step we give you, you take three or four more without our leave. You have shown what your intentions are. You aim at Supremacy, and you will use your utmost to gain your object. If that time should ever arrive, it is easy to conjecture the manner in which the Protestants would be dealt with. That treatment may be gleaned from the doctrines put

forth by the Priests to whom I have referred. [*"Hear," from the Roman Catholic members.*] I perceive that I am telling you too many home truths which you do not wish to hear. These truths, however, will be read in the organs of public opinion. I call upon this House and the Government to defend the integrity of the Protestant Church, for which our ancestors have fought and bled, and which, you may rely upon it, we shall never quietly surrender. I wish to tell the noble viscount (Lord Palmerston) that this House has been and will be a party to those pernicious doctrines, if we continue to maintain with our money the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. I say, further, that this endowment will furnish a reasonable excuse for the conduct of those persons, both Priests and people, who are instructed in such pernicious principles. The seed you have sown at Maynooth is bearing abundant fruit; and I can give you a very recent instance of it. I find the following report in a Dublin newspaper, called *Saunders's News Letter*, which has been sent to me. It relates to the Rev. Mr. Brady and his pretensions:—

"CAVAN QUARTER SESSIONS.—NOVEL CASE.

*"Thomas Brady v. James Reilly.*

"This was an action, brought by the Roman Catholic Archdeacon of Kilmore, for recovery of dues and emoluments, claimed to be due by the defendant, according to the Roman Catholic Church.

"Mr. Swanzy, who was retained by the Rev. Mr. Brady, said the present case was a most peculiar one, and he would say that it was the first one of the kind that had ever been tried before in Ireland. It was a claim made by the plaintiff to recover from the defendant the *just and legitimate* dues which the plaintiff considered he was entitled to by the *usages and customs of the Roman Catholic Church*.

"The Court.—Mr. Swanzy, I should wish to know how you can sustain your claim in point of law?

"Mr. Swanzy.—The recognition of it by *usages and custom*, in my opinion, legalises it. Usages and custom proved an implied contract.

"The Court.—Do you rest your case upon usage and custom? I should like you to show me what legal obligation there is to pay it, and what sanction you have by law.

"Mr. Swanzy.—I can give you no further proofs to be guided by than usage and custom.



"The Court.—Usage and custom are not recognised by law; and even the tendering of the money would not establish your right.

"Mr. Swanzy.—The claim is a just and righteous one.

"The Court.—That may be. But the law says that the Rev. Thomas Brady is there, teaching doctrines which are 'damnable and idolatrous.' Then will you expect the law to pay him for that? Even the late Prime Minister called the Roman Catholic religion the 'mummery of superstition.'

"Mr. Magauran.—AND YET THE GOVERNMENT SANCTIONS THE TEACHING OF SUCH DOCTRINES, BECAUSE THEY GIVE US THE MAYNOOTH GRANT, AND PAY OUR CLERGY FOR TEACHING THE CATHOLIC RELIGION IN OUR WORKHOUSES AND OUR GAOLS.

"After some other cross-firing,

"The Court decided that 'Archdeacon' Brady (the Priest) had no law upon his side to support him in his claim, and dismissed the process."—*Anglo-Celt.*

Doubtless, these arguments will be made use of in times perhaps not distant, in answer to your prosecutions for rebellion. The poor ignorant people will naturally say that they have been instructed by their Priests to act in the way they have done—that they could not doubt the propriety of following their advice, because their Priests were educated in these principles (as I have proved already), and maintained by the money of the State, and with the approbation of the Crown and the Parliament.

Remember, also, what are the necessary consequences of the debasing and destructive system of the Confessional, as practised by the Romish Church. Instead of uttering my own language upon this subject, I much prefer reminding you of the language used by the late Sir Robert Peel, in regard to the practice of Confession.

MR. ROEBUCK.—What is the date?

I presume the question of the hon. and learned gentleman is meant to imply, that Sir Robert Peel after the delivery of the speech from which I propose to make an extract changed his opinion. [Hear, hear.] Such was the fact, but Sir Robert changed his opinion more than once. When a statesman of such eminence was found to have laid down certain principles, supporting them by powerful and convincing arguments, those who agreed with him were not bound to follow him in all his subsequent changes, and

his words might fairly be quoted, even after he had altered his views. The speech in question was delivered at the time when the late Mr. Canning was at the head of the Government, and when the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were resisting the measures for the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, proposed by Mr. Canning.

Although I disagreed with the right hon. baronet in his notions *at that time*, on the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, having been much influenced by the arguments and unrivalled eloquence of Mr. Canning, as well as those of my brother-in-law, the late Mr. Wilberforce, *I have since been convinced that I made a great mistake in assenting to the principle of that measure. I now believe that that was a fatal step; for, having secured the right of sitting in the Legislature, the Roman Catholics have ever since been using—or rather, abusing—their power, to gain for their Church a supremacy over the Protestant Church, contrary to their oaths most solemnly sworn. With the conviction that I committed a great mistake in respect to the measure of “Catholic Emancipation,” I feel it is my imperative duty to use the position which a large constituency has given me, to do the best I can to remedy the evil to which I had been a party, and to take care that the Roman Catholics shall, if possible, be kept within such bounds as will prevent injury to the Crown and to the country.*

The late Sir Robert Peel said—and I concur in what he says—of Confession :—

“I will candidly and fairly admit that I entertain a distrust of the Roman Catholic priesthood. I object not to the Roman Catholics on account of their faith—on the contrary, I entertain towards them feelings of the highest respect. In private life I have never made any distinction between persons on account of their religion. Their doctrine of transubstantiation is a matter of perfect indifference to me; but if they add to this doctrine a scheme of worldly policy, of a marked character, I have a right to inquire into its nature, and to observe its effects upon mankind.

“Can any one acquainted with the relations of society doubt for a moment that there is engrafted upon the Roman Catholic religion something more than a scheme to promote religion? There is in view the furtherance of means by which one may acquire power over his fellow-men. Can we know what the

doctrines [and practice] of absolution, of confession, or of indulgences are, without feeling a suspicion that those doctrines are entertained for the purpose of establishing a power in favour of the Priests over the hearts and minds of the people? *I will leave it to honourable members to judge, when a man has told all his sins and all his faults to another man, how soon he becomes the SLAVE of that individual—a SLAVE in the very worst sense of the term.*”

Yet that is the system taught at Maynooth: the doctrine and practice of confession, thus forcibly and truly described, is virtually being maintained by the money of the State, and the assent of Parliament. Well, I ask you whether such a system is to be continued? Depend upon it you will be called to account for this sooner or later.

I ask you to agree with me in voting for the resolution which I have the honour of moving, and which I have placed, Sir, in your hands:—

“That this House do resolve itself into a Committee to consider the Acts for the Endowment of Maynooth, with a view to the withdrawal of any Endowment out of the Consolidated Fund, due regard being had to vested rights and interests.”

That resolution binds us to pay respect to vested rights and interests; but further than that I could not go.

You may tell me that at the last election the Maynooth question formed but a small part of the discussion. I know it; but do not lay the flattering unction to your soul, that the Protestant people of this country have forgotten the principles or the object of this grant. The noble lord opposite took care to go to the country with an appeal which Englishmen always respond to. He knew that his budget was objected to by a large party in this House. He thought it dangerous to go on with it, and like an able statesman as he is,—having devoted his whole time to the country,—he looked about for the best cry upon which to go to John Bull. He told him that his flag was insulted, and thus hoisted his flag against any other cry. “Palmerston and our Flag!”—that cry stopped every mouth, diverted every idea, except that of placing the noble lord in

the high position which he now fills, and from which I have no wish to depose him. I believe the noble lord possesses talents above those of any other man in this House, and if he applies his great abilities and vast experience to maintain, unshaken and unbroken, the British Constitution, to resist dangerous innovations while promoting real reforms, he will have no opposition from me. I would impress upon the members of this House who are not Roman Catholics, that they ought, as professing Protestant Christianity, at least to *see* the bill which I intend to ask leave to introduce. I am prepared to show, by that bill, that no injustice would be done, and that its only effect would be, to preserve the Protestant Christianity of the nation, and to satisfy the feelings of a Protestant people. I wish to say to Roman Catholics—"You SHALL ENJOY ALL CIVIL RIGHTS, AND YOUR RELIGIOUS PRIVILEGES, BUT YOUR CHURCH SHALL NOT BE ALLOWED TO OBTAIN THAT SUPREMACY WHICH IS THE FIRST OBJECT OF ITS AMBITION ;" and I also wish to show that the Protestant spirit is still alive,—that the nation, if called upon, will soon respond in a manner that will enable, and I believe constrain, Parliament and the Government to maintain that which we and the Sovereign are alike bound by Oath to maintain. I have thus endeavoured to discharge my duty, believing the doctrines taught at Maynooth to be antagonistic to the Holy Word of God; and that to teach such doctrines is a grievous national sin, and will, if persisted in, sooner or later bring down the judgments of Almighty God upon this hitherto highly favoured nation. [*Cheers, and incessant cries of "Divide."*]

MR. BENTINCK seconded the Motion.

The Division—For the Motion, with pairs . 207

Against . . . . . 241

**MR. SPOONER** renewed his Motion early in the Session of 1860.

He pursued the line of argument previously taken, and adduced several additional authorities in support of his demand for the discontinuance of all national assistance to a Seminary in which such highly objectionable principles were inculcated. He was not, however, successful in his Motion.

## APPENDIX.

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### A.

SCAVINI, in his Dedication to Pope Pius IX., professes, in his work, to have had especial regard to "the *golden* doctrine of Alphonsus de Liguori, as one who was remarkable for taking the *Media Via*—the happy medium between severity and laxity! (pp. viii., ix. ;) whilst he, Scavini, also addressed himself to refuting the false opinions that had been developed *since* the time of Liguori. This, then, is surely a fair work to quote, and indeed one of the highest authority, having the especial commendation of the present Bishop of Rome—Pius IX.—prefixed to it.

Scavini, whilst retailing pretty fully all Liguori's views on Equivocation and Oaths, appears to flinch a little from the startling propositions which he propounds, and at page 232 of book ii., in a note, calls the question of Amphibology "arduous," on account, especially, of that nice shade between a more diffuse *mental restriction*, and that which is pure (*latè et purè* are the words used): and adds that the Amphibologist must proceed cautiously, "lest double speaking be used rashly, lest we injure human society and habits, lest we introduce confusion, and depart from Christian simplicity; but speak so that 'our communication may be Yea, yea, and Nay, nay.'—Matt. v."!!

And yet in the very next note he starts aside, like a broken bow, and says (following the great Doctor Liguori), as to words having *two* senses, "In this way if any one is asked respecting a matter which it is *expedient* to conceal ("*salve meliori concilio*"—or say, taking the bye-path of deceit), he may reply '*Dico non*,' meaning, 'I speak this particular negative word—NON'—when his interrogator understands him, as he is aware, to mean the direct answer—'No.'" And this he justifies because the word "*dico*"—I say—means *I assert*, and also *I speak* or utter—the one meaning usual, the other unusual.

Here, indeed, he follows Liguori and forsakes Christ. Is not this "*teaching lies or hypocrisy?*" (I Tim. iv. 2;) and then to talk about proceeding cautiously, lest we violate the precept of Christ, and contaminate society! But it is the way of these Schoolmen in *Morals*: they set up at first a great truth, and then proceed with the most vicious and perverse ingenuity to knock it all to pieces and batter it down. (See Liguori, lib. ii., vol. 2, No. 151. *Theologia Moralis*.)

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### B.

Every possible *shift* is employed to evade the charge of immoral teaching, by Romanists. It is said that the books are those of old Schoolmen—they refer to the middle ages, not to these more liberal and enlightened days; or they are not properly rendered into English; or they are detached "bits and scraps," or at last, "you do not understand our system." All this is mere evasion.

However, if the old Latin books, though in new editions, and with the Papal preface, do not serve, perhaps books "in the vulgar tongue" will be accepted.

The following is from a work having the highest sanction:—

"DUBLIN, OCT., 1821.

"*We approve highly* of Doctor Hornihold's Book, entitled, 'THE REAL PRINCIPLES OF CATHOLICIS,' &c.; and we recommend it for perusal to the Roman Catholics of this Archdiocese.

"✠ THOMAS TROY, D.D., &c.

"✠ DANIEL MURRAY, D.D.

"M. H. HAMILL, D.D."

The two first names are those of two of the most eminent modern Roman Catholic Bishops in this United Kingdom at that time.

The Work is by a member of a well known family in the Midland Counties, and is printed by R. Coyne, Dublin, 1821, 4th edition.

In the Preface it is distinctly stated, that this Book is published "to do justice to truth, to promote charity, and to put a stop to the current of prejudice," on the part of Protestants, who charge the Church of Rome, as is alleged, falsely.

This, then, is surely a fair book to quote, on the subject of honesty or fraud.

On the Commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," at p. 168 of the 4th edit., 1821, we read—"Theft, in general, is a taking away or detaining what belongs to another.....And it is to be observed, that the sin is so much the greater or less, as the prejudice which is done is greater or less, and so it is a mortal sin when the thing that is taken is of considerable value in itself, or when it is considerable in respect of the person from whom it is taken; as, a penny is a considerable loss to a beggar, and twelve pence to an ordinary man." Page 169: "When may persons be excused from sin, though they take or detain what belongs to others?" *Ans.*—"A person in extreme necessity may take bread, or other food, where he finds it." Allow this—but he adds, "A presumptive leave of the master may excuse a servant disposing of some small matters. For other cases, when the thing is only a trifle, it is but a venial sin." (See page 107, &c.)

At page 301 we read—"Which are the most common venial sins?" *Ans.*—"These following, viz., idle words [query, "words,"]—small excesses in eating and drinking—too much pleasure in diversions—jocose lies, or lies out of excuse; coming late to prayers, neglecting alms, harsh words and flattering speeches, small thefts, distraction in time of prayer not fully resisted, &c." "Are we obliged to avoid venial sins?" *Ans.*—"We are undoubtedly, &c." "Can venial sins be forgiven without the Sacrament of Penance?" *Ans.*—"Yes, by Sacramentals, namely, Holy Water, signing with the sign of the Cross, alms, fasting, &c....." the performer to be in a state of grace, free from mortal sin, to have inward devotion; as these Sacramentals "do not produce their effects by their own force."

Confession to a "Priest" is part of the pretended "Sacrament of Penance," and, therefore, "venial sins," such as "small thefts," need not to be confessed.

### C.

The same Standard Author, *Bellarmino*, in vol. 1, lib. vi., c. 8, p. 892, gives this view of Papal domination over the kings of the earth:—

5. "When it was said to Peter, 'Feed my sheep,' all power was given to him which was necessary for defending the flock; and the power necessary for the shepherd is threefold: First, as to the wolves, that he may drive them away by every means; secondly, as to Rams (kings), that when they injure the sheep with their horns, he may restrain them, that they no longer lead the flock; thirdly, as to the sheep, that he may give them suitable food—this triple power, therefore, the Pope has."

The "Rams" must have a care of the Pope then.

The "Angelical Doctor," Thomas Aquinas, who is one of the "great lights" of Maynooth, says, in his *Secundæ Secundæ*, ques. xi. art. 3, referring to Matt. xiii., as to the letting the wheat and tares grow together till the harvest:—

"Excommunication is one thing, Eradication is another. For this purpose is any one excommunicated (as the Apostle says), that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord. If, however, heretics are totally eradicated by death, this is not against the command of the Lord, which applies to the case where the tares cannot be extirpated without rooting up the wheat." What say the "Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty" to that?

## THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF "INTENTION."

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THE COUNCIL OF TRENT is now, and has been since 1563 (from 1545 to 1563 its 25 Sessions were held), *the law of the Church of Rome*, which all her Priests and people are bound to believe and obey. It professed to settle all matters of doctrine and morals, and in requiring that all Romanists shall abide by its Decrees and Canons, we cannot be deemed unreasonable—for *this*, they are most religiously bound to do.

The doctrine of "INTENTION"—that is, the absolute necessity of the inward intention of the officiating "Priest" to do at least what the Church would have to be done, when administering any or all of the *Seven Romish Sacraments*—was most fully decreed after much discussion, by the Council of Trent.

The following is the Canon or Law which was passed, Session VII., celebrated March 1547:—

### DE SACRAMENTIS IN GENERE.

#### SESSIO VII., CANON XI.

Si quis dixerit, in Ministris, dum Sacramenta conficiunt et conferunt, non requiri INTENTIONEM, saltem facienda quod facit Ecclesia :

*Anathema sit.*

### CONCERNING THE SACRAMENTS IN GENERAL.

#### SESSION VII., CANON XI.

If any one shall say that in Ministers, whilst they effect (or perform) and confer the Sacraments, there is not required the INTENTION, at least, of doing what the Church does :

Let him be *Anathema*.  
(Which is excommunicated and accursed).

Thus it is clearly seen that in the desire to furnish the last link of Sacerdotal tyranny over the soul of Man, the Church of Rome has overreached herself, and has plunged herself and all who hold with her into a gulf of uncertainty and confusion.

When this matter was propounded and discussed, one of the Council—the Bishop of Minori, Alexander Molus—pointed out in the most earnest manner the destructive effect of this doctrine of *Intention*, and told the Council, that it would envelope the Church and its Sacraments in a cloud of uncertainty of the most deplorable character. He showed that an Infidel might intrude into the Episcopate, and, under this doctrine, leave a vast city and its people without Priest or Sacraments.

This wise counsel was, however, not accepted. A Council at *Florence* had decreed this doctrine, and the Fathers of *Trent* were determined to confirm it, and they did so.

In doing this they have made it uncertain whether even the Pope himself is baptized, or has been confirmed or received holy orders! No Penitent can be sure that the man who absolves him is a Priest at all, or if a Priest, no one but God can tell whether he had the "intention" to absolve the penitent.



Who can say with certainty that he was truly married? (for that is held ~~to~~ be a Sacrament;) who knows with certainty that he receives truly "Extreme Unction;" or who that pays for a thousand Masses to be said for the souls of his departed friends, can be sure that he has not (even by his own "faith") lost his money, his masses, and his friend?

Liguori, the great modern light of the Church of Rome, in his *Theologia Moralis*, lib. vi., No. 23, discusses the case of the Priest who confers the Sacraments "*administratione jocosa*." So that if the Priest makes "a joke" of the Sacrament the receiver is deprived of its benefit, if benefit there be: such is the teaching of one of Rome's great modern lights.

That the doctrine of *Intention* is not a mere dormant theory, but an active Principle, is clear from the daily practice of the Church of Rome relating to what is termed "the Mass." In the Latin Missal (Antwerp, Plantini; 1577. *Pii. V. Pont. Max. jussu Editum*)—in the Directions, "*De Defectibus in celebratione Missarum occurrentibus*," or relating to Defects occurring in the celebration of Masses, there is a clause "concerning the defect of Intention," which is as follows. Page 35: *Si quis, &c.*—

"If any one (Priest) intends *not* to confer the sacrament, but to do anything "delusively.....also, if any one (Priest) has before him eleven Hosts "(or Wafers) and *intends* to consecrate only *ten*, not determining which *ten* he "intends, he does not consecrate, because *intention* is requisite."

So that this doctrine of Intention is a practical matter which the Church of Rome has established and daily carries out, and thus it is clear that there lives not a Roman Catholic Priest or Layman, who can be *sure*, with this doctrine of Intention before his eyes, that he was ever baptized, confirmed—if a Layman, truly married, or who can tell whether he has ever truly received absolution or the Eucharist! What folly and self-destruction are here!

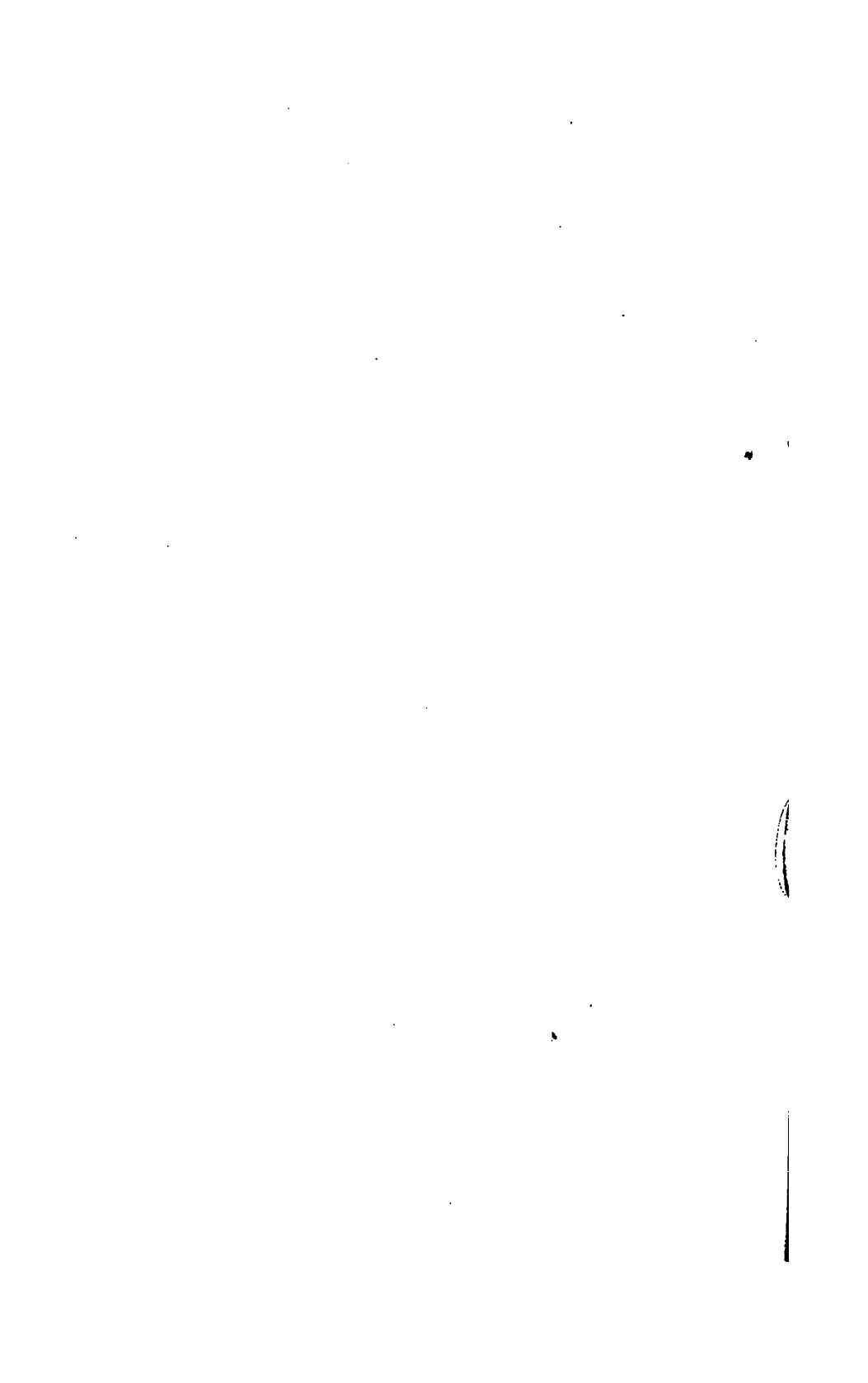
Let him who is at anytime required by a Roman Catholic to enter into controversy, first call upon his antagonist to show that he is in any Sacramental sense a Christian at all. All the Cardinals in the world cannot be sure, or bring any valid proof, that they or their Pope have ever been baptized or have received any other Sacrament which they acknowledge.

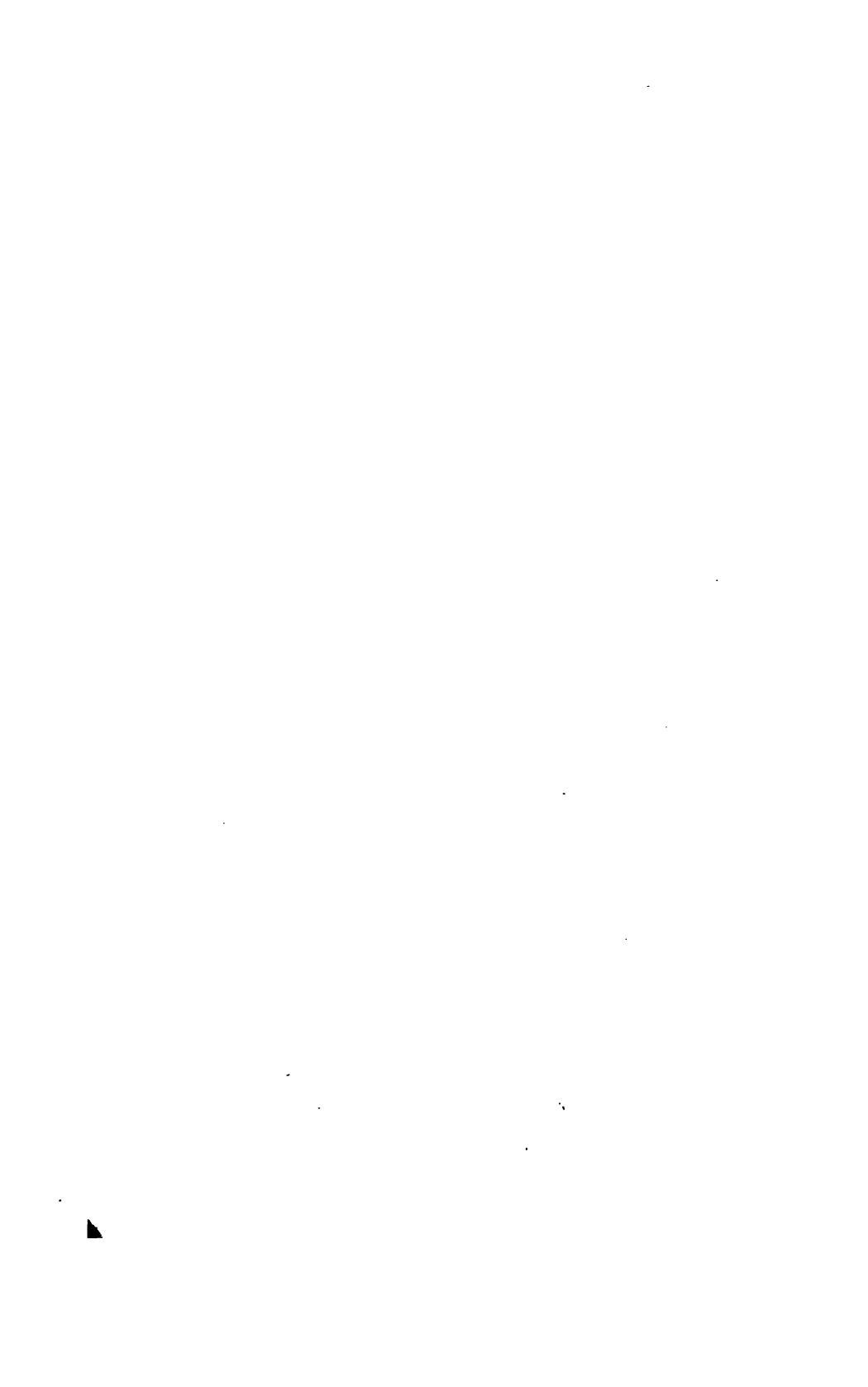
THE CHURCH OF ROME HAS DUG HER OWN GRAVE, AND INTO IT SHE HAS FALLEN!

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